

The Hispanic American Historical Review

Vol. II

November, 1927

No. 4

IN MEMORIAM

In the death, on July 16, of Paul Tincher Smith, A.M., Associate Professor of History in Purdue University, the teaching of Hispanic American History sustained a serious loss. Professor Smith possessed to an unusual degree the admiration and good will of the student body at Purdue, and he was able to build up in this school of technology and agriculture a strong and popular course on Hispanic America. Offered one semester each year as an elective, the course usually attracted as many as sixty students. Professor Smith conceived his task to include social and economic issues as well as diplomatic and historical, and it is to be regretted that he did not live to complete his projected syllabus on Hispanic American history and institutions. His sudden and untimely death is a loss to the profession.

CHURCH AND STATE IN PERU¹

No great spectacular interest has ever attached to the religious history of Peru, as has been the case with some other Hispanic American states, but the Roman Catholic Church and Religion have been an equally important factor in the development of each of those countries. Down to the time of their separation from the Motherland, they had essentially a common religious history, and throughout their republican experience the elements are so nearly the same that a study of one gives a good basis for the understanding of the others. Thus the recent religious disturbances in Mexico become less an enigma when viewed against this common historical background.

It is the purpose of this article to show, in the first place, something of the position and influence of the church in Spanish colonial America as it centered about Lima, which for two centuries was the "Capital of South America", giving attention especially to those permanent points of political contact or means of social control that were bequeathed to the Republic; then those contacts will be traced through the era of independence in order to find the tendency of the Peruvian people in their changing attitude toward this ancient heritage. One hundred years of national life just completed furnish material by which to determine the trend of affairs.

THE COLONY

The pivotal point of Spanish colonial administration was the royal patronage, which placed the church under the control of the monarchy. From the early history of the church dates

¹ The material for this article is taken from a thesis in Spanish presented by the author for the degree of "Doctor en Historia" in the University of San Marcos, Lima, and from further study of the subject in the University of California.

the custom of conceding to the makers of pious foundations some control over the policy of the institutions made possible by their gifts, such as the right to nominate officials or ministers. From the sixth century these donors were called "patrons" of such institutions and the right to nominate became known as the "right of patronage". It was the same relationship on a nation-wide scale which, with the rise of medieval monarchies, was demanded or assumed by the monarchs, and in the case of Spain was conceded by the pope. In consideration of his activities as "defender of the faith" and of liberal support from the royal treasury for church enterprises, Pope Alexander VI., by the famous bull of 1493, made the king of Spain and his successors "patrons" of the church in their realm.

The kings of Spain guarded this right very jealously, basing their claim to it not only on the papal concession but viewing it as their just and legal possession because of the regular financial support given to the church.² The effect of the system was to make the king in reality head of the Spanish church, since upon him depended the appointment or removal of every church official throughout his dominions. His authority in church matters was more directly felt than was that of the pope.

Under such a regime, the church became a powerful instrument for the execution of the royal will, and at the same time a force that could modify and control that will. From the point of view of the people, fidelity to their church and loyalty to their king were so closely identified as to become practically one and the same. This was as true in America as it was in Europe.

The supremacy of the pope over kings and emperors, however, was never doubted in the early history of the colonies. Spanish land titles in America were based on the papal grant which divided the territory to be discovered between the kings

² *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*, Madrid, 1756 and 1791, lib. I, tit. 6, ley 1.

of Portugal and Spain.³ The royal patronage, however just it might be, was a legal fact only by the "concession" of the pope. It was the manifest piety of the monarchs and the confidence placed in them by the Holy See that so closely identified them with religious affairs and made their ecclesiastical authority as effective as their political.

Disputes later arose over the exercise of the royal patronage between the viceroys and the colonial church authorities. The viceroy was theoretically the representative of the king with the right to exercise full royal power, but he was actually subject to many limitations. His term was short, he had to deal with "audiencias" and "visitadores", he was anxious to go home with a good record, and the churchmen could appeal from his orders to the king. Strong and tactful men like Toledo asserted and maintained their authority, but throughout colonial history the church and the vice-royalty were, in the main, rivals for supremacy and a check on each other. The church had the advantage of greater continuity with unity of purpose and organization, while the viceroy had the prestige of royal authority.

Out of these disputes grew the party of "Regalistas" who denied the supremacy of the pope and his right to interfere in temporal affairs, and maintained that the royal patronage was a logical and legal right which did not depend upon concession by a superior authority. They were opposed by the "Ultramontanos" or papal party, thus making an alignment similar to that which existed in medieval Europe. The inquisition was, during its golden age, the chief promoter of this rivalry from the ecclesiastical side, but when, in later colonial times, it had fallen into decadence and the ideas of French encyclopedists were making themselves felt in Peruvian educational circles, the church allied itself with the viceroy in order to effect the expulsion of these pernicious doctrines.

³ Carlos Valdez de la Torre, *Evolución de las Comunidades Indígenas*, Lima 1921, pp. 49-53.

The controversy was, in final analysis, merely a doctrinal rationalization of local disputes which did not alter the larger relations between king, church, and people. Nevertheless, it contained the germs of a natural rivalry between clericalism and liberalism which has persisted in subsequent history. The king's authority under the right of patronage was as universally taken for granted as any of his royal prerogatives, and when the republic began its existence it immediately demanded the same relationship to the church as had been held by the king of Spain. The rivalry between "Regalistas" and "Ultramontanos" was that of two interpretations of the patronage, the one emphasizing the rights of the state and the other the supremacy of the church.

The legal immunity of the clergy known as the ecclesiastical "fuero" was a source of influence and prestige to the church. "Fuero" in its strict legal sense signifies a special law or jurisdiction, and in this connection refers to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. These tribunals held as exclusively theirs all cases having to do with the persons or property of the clergy. Any civil case between members of the clergy or in which a cleric was a defendant, as well as ordinary criminal cases against clerics, must be tried in church courts and by canon law.

The origin of this system came to be a matter of controversy. The "Regalistas" held that this immunity was conceded to the clergy by Constantine and his successors and was therefore of civil origin, and could be withdrawn by civil power, while the "Ultramontanos" maintained that it came by divine mandate from the very foundation of the church.

But whatever may have been its origin, the ecclesiastical "fuero", like that of the military, was, in colonial days, an accepted fact, and was considered necessary to preserve the dignity and sanctity of the clergy. It made them a privileged class, immune from the action of civil government and from the ordinary duties of citizenship. In its broad sense, as

interpreted by the church, the "fuero" meant immunity from the domination of any civil power, except as the special concession by Alexander VI. had placed the Spanish clergy in subjection to the crown of Castile and Aragon.⁴

Economically the influence of the church was of the first importance. Aside from its regular income from tithes, first fruits, and parochial fees, the church acquired enormous amounts of property by donations and other means. It was not unusual for wealthy people to bequeath all or large portions of their property to the church. Monasteries were founded and churches built by donations. A very common practise was the establishing of perpetual funds in support of institutions or to assure the saying of regular masses for a given purpose or for the souls of certain deceased persons. These foundations were usually supported by real property and if they did not stipulate the use of the entire income from that property, they at least formed a perpetual encumbrance on it.

The undesirable effect of this custom on the commercial value of property was early felt by Spanish authorities and some attempts were made to prevent its extension. The selling or giving of property with special provisions preventing its re-sale was made illegal. This, however, did not prevent the "vinculating" of property with perpetual encumbrances.

The amount of Peruvian property owned or thus controlled by the church seems never to have been ascertained. Carlos Pereyra is authority for the statement that when Lima contained 3,941 houses, 1,135 of them (nearly one-third) belonged to church orders or to churchmen, and that these were counted among the best properties in the city.⁵

Not only this, but the church assumed some of the functions of a capitalist and banking institution, to the extent that when,

⁴ Juan Bautista Ferreres, *Instituciones Canónicas*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Barcelona, 1918. See "Fuero Eclesiástico".

⁵ Carlos Pereyra, *Historia de la América Española*, 7 vols., Madrid, 1925, VII. 327.

in 1804, the Spanish government ordered the sale of property held for pious foundations, assuming the payments required by them, the church suffered less than the general public because of the withdrawal from circulation of commercial paper backed by this property. The church came to be a permanently wealthy institution with a large income and but few expenses compared with the viceregal treasury which spent its income in maintaining the government and in promoting various civic enterprises. The church in America was wealthier than in Spain though the clergy was less numerous, and a considerable part of its wealth consisted in money to loan.⁶

Tithing, as an ancient custom of the church, was early required of the Indians in Peru as they came under the control of missionaries. It was assumed that Spaniards also should tithe but collection from them was not a success. Though primarily an affair of the church, the collection and use of the tithes was given over by the pope to the kings of Spain in appreciation of the initiative of the Spanish government and of the sums expended by it in establishing and maintaining the church in America. Thus the collection of tithes became a matter of royal administration and the church in America was still more closely tied up with the civil power.

At first special collectors were appointed to gather the tithes, and the proceeds were divided according to law among the various branches of the church and the royal treasury.⁷ But soon the collection of the tithes went back into the hands of the parish priests. They were, of course, directly interested in the collection of a goodly sum and had the authority of the law in addition to that of the church to enforce payment. This could only tend to aggravate the oppression of the Indian.

⁶ Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española*, 4 vols., 3rd ed. Barcelona, 1913-14, IV. 243-245.

⁷ *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*, lib. I, tit. 16.

At the same time it was one of the principal sources of income to the church.⁸

Perhaps the most effective arm of the church was its control of intellectual life. At the time of the Spanish expansion to America, the European clergy were being influenced to a greater or less extent by the new ideas of the renaissance. Clergymen as well as others were divided into two camps on the question of the general reaction against scholasticism. But although the renaissance movement was considerably felt in Spain, little or none of the liberal element was transported to America and medievalism enjoyed a prolonged existence in the colonies. Indeed an interesting parallel might be drawn between the European middle ages and the colonial epoch in Spanish America. The turbulent days of the conquest and civil wars, the emergence of the church as the dominant element of organized society, the struggles of the viceroys to assert their authority over the clergy, a prolonged regime of scholasticism in intellectual circles; all these were aspects of colonial history in Spanish America that have their counterpart in Europe centuries earlier.

No phase of colonial life was dominated more thoroughly by the clergy than the intellectual. The first schools were for novitiates in the monasteries and these later began to take in secular pupils. The university was at first in a monastery and even when moved out it continued to be dominated by monastic orders. Theology was the most important subject taught and was generally so regarded. Science as a subject was not admitted until the seventeenth century and then with but little enthusiasm. In the faculty of medicine, the "doctrine" of the circulation of the blood was not introduced until 1723, nearly one hundred years after its discovery in Europe, and then it was by formal resolution of the university which declared that the new theory "contained nothing contrary to

⁸ Francisco García Calderón, *Diccionario de la Legislación Peruana*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. Lima and Paris, 1879. See "Diezmos".

good customs nor to the principles of the true philosophy".⁹ The doctrines of Bacon, Descartes, and Leibnitz were, each in their turn, taboo because contrary to the scholastic principle of revealed truth.

Education in all grades was exclusively in the hands of the clergy, a rigid censorship of the press was maintained, and all imported literature was closely inspected. Throughout colonial history, the men who demand the student's attention as leaders in thought and culture were churchmen almost without exception down to the very eve of the republican epoch.

The last half of the eighteenth century, however, saw a number of intellectual changes. The liberal movement in Spain under Charles III. and a liberal viceroy in Lima let down the bars against the free teaching of philosophy and science. Descartes and Newton were now taught in the university. A liberal cleric and bookdealer was influential enough to secure the importation of books without the minute inspection usually required in the customs, and these he distributed among his friends. In political doctrines, however, repression was in vogue whenever it was considered necessary. One of the principal reasons for the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 was their having persistently circulated certain doctrines maintaining the right of the subject to question the justice of the commands of his sovereign.¹⁰

Intellectual repression also returned before the end of the century, but though clerical authority took the initiative in bringing it about, the responsibility for it cannot be laid to the door of the clergy as a class. Clergymen now seem to appear in every movement and on both sides of every controversy. It was a cleric who had been the leading exponent of liberal ideas and it was a conservative archbishop, together with a conservative viceroy that restored the repressive measures. It is probably unreasonable to suppose that all or even

⁹ Felipe Barreda y Laos, *Vida Intelectual de la Colonia*, Lima 1909, p. 310.

¹⁰ A deduction from the doctrine of "probabalism". See Barreda y Laos, *Vida Intelectual de la Colonia*, pp. 319-26.

a majority of the members of the clergy had been influenced by the influx of liberalism, but a considerable body of those who were so influenced is in evidence both before and after the War of Independence.

THE REPUBLIC

The Peruvian war of independence was the convergence of two revolutionary movements initiated in the southern and northern extremities of the continent and led respectively by San Martín and Bolívar. Politically their main purpose was the same—the separation of the entire continent from the domination of Spain—but religiously the ideals they represented were quite distinct. In Argentina the patriot leaders were good Catholics and the church worked in sympathy with the revolution. The patriot general Belgrano, following ancient Catholic custom, carried out an elaborate ceremony in which his army was blessed and the image of the Virgin of Mercy was made its general in chief. When San Martín organized his Army of the Andes with which he was to liberate Chile and Peru, he imitated Belgrano's ceremony to the letter and made the Virgin of Carmen patron of his army, placing his scepter of command in the hands of the image in the presence of the army and all the assembled clergy.¹¹

In the north all was different, for there the church was frankly opposed to the revolution and the revolutionary commanders were at the same time leading freethinkers. As early as 1811 religious tolerance was proclaimed in Caracas, the only case in the Spanish colonies. In 1812 an earthquake in Caracas and vicinity proved very disastrous to the patriot cause, all but destroying the revolutionary army, while it left the royal forces practically untouched.¹² This was immediately proclaimed by the clergy to be a judgment from God on the people for their disloyalty, and their preaching had a very

¹¹ Bartolomé Mitre, *Historia de San Martín*, 4 vols., Buenos Aires 1890, I. 568-572.

¹² March 26, 1812; well described in Henry Rowan Lemly, *Bolívar*, Boston 1923, pp. 18-22.

telling effect. But the patriot government, taking the matter vigorously in hand, ordered the archbishop to publish a pastoral letter saying that an earthquake is a natural phenomenon, "an effect as common in the order of nature as raining, lightning, sleeting, etc." When the prelate demurred and would not make the declaration as required, the government decided to arrest and deport him.¹³

Bolívar and Sucre, the two great leaders who went from this region to Peru, were representative of this type of vigorous and freethinking insurrection. Men of their group came to look upon the clergy in general as a royalist force to be reckoned with. Bolívar always showed respect for religion but he held that it was not a subject for legislation, and he desired, as we shall see farther on, to found a state in which no religion should be officially recognized.

San Martín's was the first liberating expedition to reach Peru. According to custom, most of the higher clerical positions were held at that time by Spanish prelates while the lower clergy were native "criollos" of either pure Spanish or "mestizo" blood. But the attitude of the clergy as a whole toward independence seems to have followed no obvious rule, as would undoubtedly have been the case had independence first come sponsored by anti-clerics like Bolívar and Sucre. Archbishop Las Heras, though a Spaniard and a venerable representative of medievalism in religion, remained in Lima when the viceroy fled, entered into friendly relations with San Martín and signed with leading citizens the declaration of independence. Though he later quarrelled with San Martín and was escorted from the city and sent to Spain, the dispute arose over questions involving the relative position of church and state rather than through any hostility on his part to

¹³ Rufino Blanco Fombona, *The Struggle for Independence in Argentina*, in *Inter America*, II. 316. See also Blanco-Azpurrúa (ed.), *Documentos para la Historia de la Vida Pública del Libertador*, 14 vols., Caracas 1875-1878, III. 614-621.

independence or from anti-clericalism on the part of San Martín.

Chávez de la Rosa, who was bishop of Arequipa from 1789 to 1805, was very liberal and exerted a notable influence over the younger generation of the clergy, teaching a political liberalism that easily developed into separatism when the occasion called it forth.¹⁴ His two most famous disciples were Luna Pizarro and Vigil, both of whom will receive further attention in these pages. Chávez de la Rosa himself, a Spaniard by birth, was one of the inspiring spirits of the Cortes of Cádiz of 1812 and was named by the Cortes patriarch of the Indies. After the restoration he became a victim of the vengeance of Ferdinand VII. Pérez Armendaris, bishop of Cuzco from 1809 to 1819, openly favored the revolutionary movement that took place in his diocese in 1814.¹⁵

On the other hand, some of the bishops worked most energetically to maintain the old régime and were forced to abandon their bishoprics, or chose to do so, before the on-coming patriot armies. They were followed by other royalist clergymen. Thus, besides the archbishopric of Lima, the dioceses of Maynas, Ayacucho, and Trujillo were left vacant. Though there is difference of opinion and no exact data, it is probable that most of the lower clergy, both regular and secular, favored independence.¹⁶ There are instances of priests who took up arms in the patriot cause as did Hidalgo of Mexico,¹⁷ and some of the leading personalities in organizing the new republic were clergymen.

The most notable of these was Luna Pizarro, already mentioned. He was a native of Arequipa, well educated in theology and law, and held high positions in educational insti-

¹⁴ Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *La Revolución de la Independencia del Perú, 1809-1819*, Lima, 1924, pp. 41-43.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-167.

¹⁶ Compare Vicuña Mackenna and Barreda y Laos.

¹⁷ Notably Bruno Terreros. See Manuel Felipe Paz Soldán, *Historia del Perú Independiente, segundo periodo*, 2 vols., Lima, 1870-1874, I. 37.

tutions and in the cathedral in Lima. He became the most prominent of a group of priests who were penetrated with the ideas of the French Revolution, and leader of the Nationalist Liberal Party. He worked against San Martín's monarchical plans and even favored freedom of worship. He was the first president of a Peruvian congress and for a number of years a dominant figure in the government. In 1845 he was made archbishop of Lima and held this position the remaining nine years of his life.¹⁸

When, as a result of the famous interview between Bolívar and San Martín in Guayaquil, the latter decided to withdraw from Peru, he convoked the first Peruvian congress and surrendered the command of affairs into its hands. At least the third part of the members of this congress were priests, and they seem to have been the most liberal portion of the group. As the congress was charged with the task of making a constitution, one of the first debates was over the declaration that should be made regarding the religious establishment, and even here the clerical group was among the most liberal.

San Martín in his "Provisional Statute" had dictated the following article:

The Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion is the religion of the state; the government recognizes as one of its first duties that of maintaining and conserving it by all the means that are within the bounds of human prudence. Whoever attacks its doctrines and principles, either publicly or in private, shall be punished with severity in proportion to the scandal he may have caused.

Others who profess the Christian religion but who dissent in some principles from the religion of the state, may obtain permission from the government, with the consent of the Council of State, to make use of the right which may be theirs, provided their conduct is not prejudicial to public order.

No one may hold public office who does not profess the religion of the state.¹⁹

¹⁸ Paz Soldán. *Ibid.*, p. 41; and Vicuña Mackenna, *Revolución*, etc., pp. 43-45.

¹⁹ Juan F. Olivo, *Constituciones del Perú, 1821-1919*. Lima, 1922.

When the subject came up in the new congress, it was proposed to put into the constitution only a simple declaration that the Catholic religion was the religion of the state, with no further limitation or exclusion. It was a layman, however, Dr. Justo Figuerola, who alleged that it would be dangerous to introduce a change so radical in so delicate a matter, and proposed the addition of the phrase, "Excluding the exercise of any other religion". His motion was carried by a majority of eleven, with the aid of only three priests out of the twenty or more present.²⁰

But this constitution was short lived. Bolívar, who soon after was made dictator, evidently hoped to unite Peru and Bolivia with Ecuador and Colombia under his personal rule in order to weld them into one nation, and was paving the way for that unity by inducing them to adopt similar constitutions. The constitution which he proposed to the Peruvian electoral colleges was the same as that already adopted in Bolivia, except for the alterations made by the Bolivian constituent assembly.

Bolívar's ideas regarding religion and the state are made plain by the following extract from his address to the Bolivian assembly, accompanying the presentation of his proposed constitution:

Legislators: I will make mention of one article which my conscience has caused me to omit. In a political constitution no religious proposition should be proscribed, because, according to the best doctrines on fundamental laws, these are to guarantee political and civil rights, and as religion does not pertain to either of these rights, its nature is indefinable in the social order and it belongs to the moral and intellectual. Religion governs a man in his house, in his office, within himself; it alone has a right to examine his intimate conscience. Laws, on the other hand, look on the surface of things. They do not apply to the citizens except outside his own house. Applying these conditions, can a state govern the consciences of its subjects? Can it oblige

²⁰ Vicuña Mackenna, *La Revolución*, etc., p. 53, and Paz Soldán, *Historia*, etc. II. 41.

the keeping of religious laws and give rewards or punishments when the tribunals are in heaven and when God is the judge? Only the inquisition would be capable of replacing such courts in this world. Shall the inquisition return with its incendiary torches?²¹

Bolívar, as a practical statesman, recognized the church as a factor to be reckoned with, and provided in his constitution elaborate clauses for the control of the right of patronage by the national government as it had been by the king. He even had warm friends among the clergy. But his plans were not fully adopted, either in Bolivia or in Peru. The Bolivian assembly evidently found itself in a difficult position, unwilling to offend either its dictator or its constituency, and the following paradoxical article was the result:

The Apostolic Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the republic, with the exclusion of all other cults. The Government will protect it and cause it to be respected, recognizing the principle that no human power has jurisdiction over the conscience.²²

In Peru, Bolívar's plan was more nearly successful, for there the religious article simply made Catholicism the religion of the state with no restriction on other religions. This was the most liberal clause to appear in any Peruvian constitution prior to 1915.

Bolívar's government also undertook to establish administrative regulations and reforms with respect to the church. Certain schools and religious orders accused of royalist sympathies were broken up or their funds confiscated; all the regular clergy were ordered to submit to the administration of the bishop of their diocese; no monastery could be maintained without at least eight monks in actual residence; minors could not enter a monastic order; the number of religious holidays was reduced, etc.²³

²¹ Blanco y Aspuruá, *Documentos*, etc., X. 346.

²² Vicente Lecuna, *Documentos Referentes a la Creación de Bolivia*, 2 vols., Caracas 1924, II. 346.

²³ Paz Soldán, *Historia*, etc., II. 166.

How to fill the vacancies left by the departure of the Spanish bishops was a problem for the new government. Under the Bolívar régime an attempt was made to solve the problem by electing men who were ostensibly presented for consecration in office by the pope, but who, since there was no hope of securing that consecration in the near future, entered upon the duties of their offices as bishops elect. Such procedure provoked a heated controversy as to its legality, and the arrangement did not prove permanent.^{23a}

Bolívar had no more than left the country in charge of his appointees and gone to attend to affairs elsewhere than a reaction set in against him and his constitution. Although this reaction brought with it a certain religious conservatism, the causes were political as well as religious. The idea of a dictatorship in time of peace, his having been named president for life, and his evident ambition to unite different countries under his personal rule wounded liberal and nationalistic sentiments, both of which were very self conscious. At the same time his ecclesiastical reforms and his religious liberalism could not but arouse against him the reactionary clergy, while the discussion over the right of the civil government to make ecclesiastical appointments served to accentuate the general uneasiness.

As a result, the natural alignment between the Nationalist Liberal Party on the one hand and the reactionary element on the other was broken down and all were united against what was called the tyranny of Bolívar. Luna Pizarro was a cleric who could have worked well with Bolívar so far as religious questions were concerned, but he was one of the most indefatigable agitators against the dictatorship and the life presidency as provided in Bolívar's constitution.

This anti-Bolívarist movement developed into a complete and pacific revolution. A new constituent assembly was called

^{23a} " *Documentos Históricos*", Peruvian National Library; and Ricardo Aranda. *Colección de Tratados*, 14 vols., Lima, 1890-1919, XI. (1911), 62.

and proceeded to make a third constitution under the presidency of Luna Pizarro. In this the article reappears which declares that the

religion of the state is the Apostolic Roman Catholic; the nation protects it by all the means in keeping with the spirit of the gospel, and will not permit the exercise of any other.²⁴

The ecclesiastical appointments were annulled. Some of the reforms of the previous government were confirmed while others were ignored as illegal.

The first Peruvian liberalism seems to have appeared principally among the clergy, who had long been the intellectual leaders of society, and it was as much religious as political. But in the personal opposition to Bolívar, which absorbed all doctrinal questions, it was lost from sight. In the decades of political confusion that follow it would be difficult to distinguish any consecutive body of opinion in the scramble of personalities, armies, and revolutions. The one thing evident is the desire for national self expression and aggrandizement, working against its tremendous handicap of inexperience and instability.

Among the first diplomatic attempts of the Republic were the efforts to establish relations with the Vatican.²⁵ We have seen some of the things that made it embarrassing for a people so thoroughly Catholic as were the Peruvians to live in a state of non-communication with Rome. The Vatican was, naturally, not in sympathy with the separation of the Spanish colonies and sent all communications, as before, directed to the subjects of his Catholic majesty the king of Spain. In 1824 the situation was made acute by the arrival of a customary papal bull of indulgences addressed in the old form, but the Peruvian government refused to legalize the bull and called upon the ecclesiastical authorities in Lima to issue a declara-

²⁴ Olivo, *Constituciones del Peru, 1821-1919*.

²⁵ Aranda, *Colección de Tratados*, XI. 46 ff.

tion of indulgences to take its place. Such matters, together with the vacant bishoprics, made necessary a series of makeshift arrangements to keep church matters going in the usual way, pending an adjustment with Rome. Only the nationalistic spirit of the people made this possible over a considerable period of time.

But kaleidoscopic political changes in Peru and the stereotyped movements of Rome were alike obstacles in the way of this desired adjustment. Not until 1833 were episcopal appointments secured, and then in the form that studiously avoided recognition either of the Peruvian republic or of its having nominated the candidates, and the oath required of the candidates was a medieval pledge of loyalty to the church, such as was not even permitted by the kings of Spain because contrary to their rights and prerogatives as patrons of their realm.

According to long established custom in countries having the right of patronage, all papal communications must receive the "exequatur" or approval of the civil government in order to become legal within the country. The government in this case could not do other than approve the appointments, but it first substituted an oath to its own liking, and added to the legalizing formula its protest against any phrasing of the document itself which failed to recognize the Peruvian right to national patronage on the same terms as it had been enjoyed by the Spanish kings.²⁶

The first diplomatic mission to be established in Rome was headed by Dr. Bartolomé Herrera in 1852.²⁷ But though cordial relations were then established, the papal communications, in the absence of a concordat, continued to be couched in the same objectionable forms and were received in Peru with the customary reservations. This procedure continued until 1874 when an arrangement was negotiated whereby a papal

²⁶ Aranda, *Colección de Tratados*, XI. 69.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 ff.

letter granted the right of patronage in consideration of financial support already being given to the church, but without the concessions and obligations usually contained in a concordat.²⁸

There have been repeated attempts to negotiate a concordat and the Vatican has at all times held out every inducement, but without success. So long as radical religious reform was unthinkable in Peru, the national control of the patronage was, from the liberal point of view, the most important point to be guarded. The anti-clerical party was strong enough to secure this control without the giving of any special privilege to the church, other than the financial support it had always received.

The period of Castilla's domination in the middle of the century, in which order was maintained but large freedom of expression permitted, saw the first serious attempt at republican government. It was in this epoch that a new party alignment appeared, the two groups being known as liberals and conservatives. The question of federalism versus centralization never seriously affected Peru, as it did some other Hispanic American countries. The dispute here was between centralized conservatism and popular idealistic liberalism.

The leaders of both parties recognized the national weaknesses but, with equal sincerity and fervor, proposed different remedies. The conservatives would put an end to anarchy by means of a strong centralized government. They would offset the ignorance of the masses with the brilliance and wisdom of an educated class, especially prepared to govern. Moral evils they would correct by giving prestige and vitality to the church. The liberals, on the other hand, proposed to remedy the general political and social confusion by democratic organization. Ignorance they would cure, not offset, by popular education, while as to morality, they considered the church incapable of moralizing because of having set, as

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

they said, the first example of immorality. It was the old question of classes versus the democratic ideal, with the clerical dispute included.

The leaders of both parties were of the intellectual, well-to-do class, socially far removed from the ignorant masses. The conservatives saw the hope of the country in their own class while the liberals had a vision of true popular sovereignty. They recognized the wide difference between their ideal and the actual reality but they hoped to make progress by popular education and political experimentation. To bring this about they demanded certain immediate reforms, most important of which were a large measure of popular and local sovereignty, religious tolerance, non-clerical public schools, the abolition of the ecclesiastical "fuero", and relief of the Indians from the abusive system of tithing.²⁹

It will be noted that a great part of the reform measures demanded were directed against the clergy. It is probably this fact that accounts for the absence of the clergy in the liberal party. The liberalism of Luna Pizarro, the cleric, had been inherited by laymen and the outstanding leader of the conservatives was now a priest. It is this division of opinion that seems to have been the more natural alignment for, with varying names and standards, it has persisted to the present day, though not always exemplified in governmental practise. Further understanding of this period of new adjustments may be obtained by a glance at the lives and characters of the leaders as types of their respective parties: of the conservatives, Bartolomé Herrera; of the liberals, José Gálvez.

Herrera was a man of unusual mentality and a thorough student. He was educated under moderately liberal influences but his independent study of philosophy and of conditions in his own country made him a firm believer in dogmatism and authority. From the position of parish priest he was called to be rector of San Carlos, the leading school of Lima, where

²⁹ See the Journal (*Diario de Debates*) of the Congresses of 1856 and 1860.

he introduced thorough reforms and proceeded to try to impress his ideals on the youth of the upper class. It was his resonant preaching that provoked the open attack of the liberals and started the public controversy that began in class rooms and periodicals and was carried to the halls of congress. He held the high positions of minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs, special envoy to the Holy See, president of the congress, and bishop of Arequipa.³⁰

Gálvez was distinguished among the liberals by simplicity of personality, clearness of vision, and outstanding qualities of leadership. He was one of the early promoters of the National Secondary School of Guadalupe as opposed to the clerical schools, and distinguished himself as director of that school in its formative period. But he soon left the field of education to become leader of his party in congress. He succeeded in putting into legislation the most important of his doctrines in the congress of 1856 and held a number of them against a conservative and hostile majority in 1860. Though strongly anti-clerical, he was not a religious skeptic. He had a very definite and mystic religious sense. An example of his advanced ideas on social problems is his use of the term "correctional" instead of "penal" law. He warmly defended popular sovereignty even to the right, under certain circumstances, of rebellion.³¹

Another figure already mentioned must be spoken of here. Vigil, one of the younger liberal friars at the time of the War of Independence, was now in elderly life but unchanged in his ideas. He had been an outstanding figure in his group but was now, as among the clergy, living in practical ostracism. In personality he was quiet but fearless. He was repeatedly a member of congress and was later the national librarian.

³⁰ Jorge G. Leguía, *San Carlos en los días de Herrera*, in *Boletín Bibliográfico de San Marcos*, No. 15.

³¹ Carlos Wiese, Address of May 2, 1916, in a memorial collection of that date in the Peruvian national library. Much of the information regarding Gálvez and the liberals was obtained from personal interviews with his grandson, José Gálvez, Peruvian lawyer and poet.

His claim to renown is his voluminous work entitled *Defense of the Authority of Governments and Bishops against the Pretensions of the Court of Rome*, which was condemned and prohibited by that court. His fame rests not so much on the work itself, which was but little read, but on his refusing to be silenced by the condemnation. He calmly wrote and published a reply, boldly refuting, one by one, the propositions of the papal condemnation. His greatest contribution to liberalism was undoubtedly his furnishing an example of a friar and a Peruvian who refused to be intimidated by ecclesiastical censure.³²

The meaning of the ecclesiastical "fuero" has been explained and its abolition has been mentioned as one of the objectives of the liberal reformers. The "fuero" made the clergy unquestionably a separate and privileged class, a thing wholly incompatible with the ideal of a democracy, and it was hoped that its abolition would not only put an end to privilege but would reduce clerical influence in politics. The Peruvian judicial code, promulgated in 1851, recognized the "fuero" but it greatly reduced the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts and brought them under the jurisdiction of the judicial branch of the civil government.³³

It was the congress of 1856, controlled by the liberals, that first passed a resolution to abolish the "fuero" constitutionally. It was adopted after a long and heated debate. But the whole constitutional revision, containing many of the political doctrines of the liberals, was submitted for approval and legalization by popular oaths of allegiance. The result, instead of a strong popular approval as the liberals hoped, was only a prolongation of the debate and ultimate failure. The opposition of the clergy and other conservatives prevented legal-

³² Vicuña Mackenna, *La Revolución*, etc., pp. 45-48. See also biography of Vigil by González Prada in works cited below.

³³ García Calderón, *Diccionario*, etc., see "Fuero". See also articles of the "Código de Enjuiciamientos" cited by the capitular dean of Trujillo in a report to his bishop, in "El Católico", II. 569.

ization until a political shift had placed the control of congress in the hands of the conservatives and the whole situation was changed. A new revision of the constitution was made and the work of the liberals was undone. But, to the surprise of many, the abolition of the "fuero" was maintained by an emphatic majority, against the determined opposition of Herrera, president of the congress. The conservatives, not so much committed to the ideals of popular sovereignty, did not submit their constitution to the people but simply declared it in force by act of congress. The "fuero" then ceased to be a factor in Peruvian politics.³⁴

In general it may be said that the wealth and economic influence of the church, as already described, continued unimpaired into the republican era, and to the present day there is but little change.

The matter of perpetual encumbrances on real property has been at different times a subject of legislation. As early as 1828, just after the fall of Bolívar, new encumbrances, as well as the selling or giving of property into "dead hands" (not subject to resale), were prohibited. As to the vinculations or encumbrances already established, permissive legislation has made possible their termination by consent of the parties concerned. Hence, in cases where the church is the party benefited by the existence of the encumbrance, its consent must be obtained for dissolution. The only other means would be either confiscation or legislation by which the government would make itself responsible for the income provided and free the property from the encumbrance. So far, the numerous pious foundations of colonial times are almost all in existence.³⁵

The only notable alteration of the economic affairs of the church by legislation has been the abolition of the Indian tithes, and in this the interests of the church were carefully

³⁴ Journals of the congresses of 1856 and 1860.

³⁵ García Calderón, *Diccionario*, etc.—see "Vinculaciones".

guarded. The motive was not primarily to attack the economic power of the church but to improve the condition of the Indian by ending a long-standing abuse. Measures were taken to reassure the church and to avoid its hostility. By act of the congress of 1859 the collection of tithes was prohibited and the government made itself responsible to the church for the amount the tithes had produced.⁸⁶

This law was a triumph of humanitarian sentiment over tradition and economic considerations, for, by one stroke, the government reduced its income and greatly increased its expenditures. Indirectly, the independence of the church was slightly reduced since it was now more completely dependent upon the government for its support.

Another important matter that has been gradually taken from the hands of the church, where it was placed by Spanish law, is the control of cemeteries. The idea that the place and circumstance of burial have directly to do with the happiness of the deceased in the next world has furnished one of the clergy's most effective means of control over the people, by the granting or refusal of interment in ground consecrated by the church.

The establishment of municipal cemeteries in Peru was begun soon after the winning of independence and was probably promoted by the church because of the expense involved in providing more burial space. But under municipal control, the liberal and anti-clerical elements had a voice in the matter and could bring pressure for the adoption of a more liberal attitude toward non-Catholics. Those who could think of a Peruvian as non-Catholic were, in the early days, very rare, if they existed at all, but an increasing body of people demanded the same consideration and respect for non-Catholic foreigners who died in the country as was given to those of their own religion. This was an evident necessity if desirable foreign trade and immigration were to be promoted.

⁸⁶ García Calderón, *Diccionario*, etc.—see “*Diezmos*”.

From this entering wedge has come a liberalization of public opinion and practise that has placed cemeteries generally under the control of the municipalities, and which tends to remove religious prejudice against proper burial for "heretics". It is still the custom in small communities for the parish priest to be the administrator of the municipal cemetery and there are occasional instances in the interior of Protestants encountering difficulty in obtaining burial permits. The infrequency of such instances is due as much to the small number of Protestants as to the development of religious tolerance. But in any such case appeal may be had to the civil authorities.³⁷

The more recent development of anti-clerical opinion has been greatly influenced by the life and writings of Manuel González Prada (1848-1918), a critic of all the vices of Peruvian society. His philosophy, skeptical and destructive, was not unlike that of many people of modern Hispanic America, but his ringing phrases, pointed criticisms, his strictly moral life, and his attractive personality gave him an unusual influence among the young men of his own country. He saw no need for either church or religion, for the former was to him a corrupting influence and the latter a sign of moral weakness. Morality he considered quite apart from either of them and he ordered his own life accordingly. His influence is probably greater than that of any other person in shaping the religious philosophy of Peruvian youth of modern generations.³⁸

The most recent reforms in religious affairs are the passing of the civil marriage law (1897) and the constitutional amendment granting religious liberty (1915). The Peruvian civil code recognizes no form of marriage other than the rites established by the council of Trent. Marriage is thereby consid-

³⁷ García Calderón, *Diccionario*, etc.—see "Cementerios"; also "Renacimiento", January 1924.

³⁸ Ramiro Pérez Reinoso, *Manuel González Prada*, Lima 1920. See also the popular works of González Prada, *Horas de Lucha*, Lima 1908, and *Páginas Libres*, Madrid 1915(9).

ered a religious sacrament, a union to be made or dissolved only by the church. The ecclesiastical monopoly of marriage has been broken by the civil marriage law, but divorce does not exist except as defined by the Catholic church. Up to 1915 there could legally be no religious tolerance, for the exercise of all cults other than the Catholic was forbidden by constitutional law. However, no law had ever defined offenses or established penalties. The amendment of that date suppressed the prohibitory clause, continuing the church in its official relation to, and under the protection of the state.³⁹

Both these reforms were strongly resisted by the church, and though it could muster only a ridiculously small vote in the congress, obstructionist tactics and diplomatic channels were used and pressure was brought to bear on individuals. The executive was quite obviously under its influence. Clerical authorities were willing, in the end, to sanction a law to permit the legalization of the marriage of non-Catholic foreigners, but the principles of civil marriage and religious liberty were bitterly opposed.⁴⁰

Both reforms were occasioned by events that had aroused a storm of public protest. A North American couple, married in Peru, were denied legalization of their union. Their appeal to the president and his refusal gave wide publicity to the affair and resulted in action by congress.⁴¹ It began with the purpose of providing accommodation for non-Catholic foreigners and ended in the civil marriage law. The other reform was the direct result of a mob attack on a Protestant mission among the Indians, organized and led by the bishop of Puno.⁴² In both cases overwhelming majorities in congress favored the reforms and made them effective over the heads of reluctant executives.

³⁹ Journals of the congresses of 1896, 1897, 1903, 1913, 1914 and 1915.

⁴⁰ Aranda, *Colección de Tratados*, XI. 752-754.

⁴¹ John Lee, *Religious Liberty in South America*, New York 1907; and "Correspondence of T. B. Wood" in "The Gospel in All Lands", July 1896.

⁴² *El Heraldo*, II. 101, and the files of *La Crónica* for July and August, 1913.

Since 1915 no important new adjustments in religious matters have taken place, but public opinion has continued to develop along the lines already indicated. Something of the strength of anti-clerical opinion when aroused was shown in 1923 in a popular agitation led by the students against the celebration in Lima of a national religious ceremony, designed to promote the influence and prestige of the church. Priests remained several days in hiding and feeling ran so high that the ceremony was indefinitely postponed. The separation of church and state has not been officially proposed in Peru except by the student federation, but clerical influence over public opinion is notably on the wane.

CONCLUSION

From our brief summary of colonial times it seems evident that no other element or agency was more responsible for the state of Peruvian society at the time of its separation from Spain than the Catholic religion and its organized clergy. These two must be considered together for it was the religious devotion of king and people that made possible the power of the clergy. The oft-emphasized lack of political training for self-government under Spanish rule was not more important than the intellectual isolation made effective by the church. In fact it was the perfect coöperation between the religious hierarchy and the political autocracy that made possible both isolation and paternal control.

The break up of this combination by the revolt of the colonies seems to have left the Peruvian clergy as much at sea as any other part of the citizenry. San Martín's sympathetic leadership might have instituted a similar union under the new régime in which liberalism as sponsored by clergymen should have had free expression. But Bolívar's anti-clerical policies and his apparent personal ambitions altered the situation and, from this and other causes, a period of confusion follows. It was when the liberals became conscious of the incompatibility of their program with certain aspects of

clericalism, such as the ecclesiastical "fuero" and the tithing system, that liberalism definitely identified itself with anti-clericalism.

The most cursory glance over the events related in the history of the republic shows that the development has been definitely and consistently toward the reduction of clerical influence. The consistency of the development is in contrast with that of other countries of equal geographical isolation and late blooming of religious liberalism. While Ecuador has seen violent reactions from a strong anti-clerical government to the most extreme of ultramontane devotion to Rome, and while Colombia is still obliged by a concordat to permit clerical control of her national school system, Peru has steadily moved away from Roman Catholic domination.

Anti-clericalism has at times shown itself stronger than political liberalism. This was true especially in the fight for abolition of the "fuero". Again in 1897 and 1915 the great majorities and the determined opposition to the executives were not true indications of the political complexion of the congress at those times. They were rather the expression of men who were glad of an opportunity to vote on a purely anti-clerical project without having had to face the probable political ruin that threatens him who dares initiate such a measure without a protecting barrage of public wrath.

The last half century has seen the growth of a group among the intellectuals that is not only anti-clerical but irreligious, of whom the highest type is González Prada. These modernists are quite different from the men who protested their loyalty to the church while they fought its control in politics. They were not less religious than their opponents but more independently religious. But to their grandsons irreligion has become a religion and they glory in their devotion to it. The group has spread beyond the bounds of the intellectual class and includes an ever-growing number of those who follow with varying degrees of thought and interest but all of whom are no longer devoted to the church.

It would be a mistake to conclude that the church is now a minor factor in Peruvian affairs. Its wealth and extensive ownership of property seem never to have been a matter of popular interest, but they are no less a source of power than in countries where violent agitation and wholesale confiscation have taken place. In politics, presidents and dictators recognize that the support of the church is quite necessary to a stable government. It is a significant fact that repeatedly executives have been unwilling to even promulgate anti-clerical laws passed by the congress. Usually, anti-clerical opinion is inarticulate and dormant but becomes overwhelmingly aggressive in response to stimulus. The church, on the other hand, is an organized force that can apply pressure when and where it chooses, and it usually works through individuals in strategic positions. In the face of the disintegrating effects of modern irreligious tendencies, its organization is its source of greatest strength.

The situation in Peru contains the same seeds that have borne some fruit in other countries of like origin. Different environments have produced slightly different growths, but the ripened product, when it appears, may be expected to bear in each case essential marks of similarity.

FRANCIS MERRIMAN STANGER.

University of California.

GREGOR MCGREGOR AND THE COLONIZATION OF POYAIS, BETWEEN 1820 AND 1824

The area and extent of the Mosquito (Maskito) Territory has varied greatly during the last three centuries. The fact that it was never effectively occupied by the Spanish discoverers and colonizers, and that it was left to the undisturbed possession of wandering bands of Indians, accounts for its boundaries never having been accurately determined during the period of Spanish rule or even during the first decades after the Central American states had gained their independence. At present the Mosquito Coast is generally considered to occupy a stretch of two hundred miles along the Caribbean shore of Nicaragua, from Cape Gracias a Dios to Bluefields Lagoon (from about 15° to 12° north latitude), and to form an integral part of the Republic of Nicaragua. However, during the period when Lord Palmerston was doing his utmost to increase British control around the Bay of Honduras and on the Central American mainland, through an imaginary protectorship over the Mosquito (Maskito) Indians, their territory was claimed to cover the entire littoral of Central American from Cape Honduras, near the port of Truxillo (about 16° north latitude), to Bocas del Toro, on Chiriqui Lagoon (about 7° north latitude). Thus the British claims extended over the whole Caribbean coast of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, as well as over large parts of that of Colombia (Department of Panama) and Honduras, for a length of seven hundred miles, and for a maximum breadth of over two hundred miles.¹

This area was inhabited by various tribes of Indians, known under the general names of Xicaques and Payas, who

¹ Ephraim George Squier, *The States of Central America*, pp. 82, 629, 633; Thomas Strangeways, *Sketch of the Mosquito Shore*, p. 4.

occupied the highlands of the interior and left the low, unhealthy coastlands largely to a mongrel race descended from these Indians themselves and negroes. In the early seventeenth century a slave-ship had been wrecked near Cape Gracias a Dios, and large numbers of the negroes had escaped and intermarried with the Indians. The half negro, half Indian descendants, known as Sambos, adhered to the idea that they were Indians, and, although the negro element was augmented, from time to time, by runaway slaves (*cimarrones*) from the Spanish settlements and from Jamaica, they took the tribal name of Mosquito Indians.²

These so-called Mosquito Indians were hostile to the Spaniards, but maintained friendly relations with the English, whose settlement among them they encouraged. During the wars with Spain the British royal governors of Jamaica fostered friendship with the Mosquito Indians in order to secure them as allies against the Spaniards, and to obtain a control over their territory.³

Half-educated members of the tribe, who had been to Jamaica, were invested by the British with empty titles and mock honors, and were accepted as kings by their tribe. These ignorant Sambos were easily prevailed upon, by means of trifling presents and liberal potations of rum, to sign whatever papers the British officials placed before them. In this manner the puppet kings were induced to sign away to the British crown their own shadowy rights to the Mosquito Shore. The British then established settlements and erected forts at such places as seemed most favorable for strategic and economic penetration.⁴

This high-handed procedure was objected to, however, by Spain, and in the Treaty of Paris, 1763, a clause was inserted,

² Ephraim George Squier, *Honduras, Descriptive, Historical and Statistical*, pp. 161, 167.

³ Strangeways, *op. cit.*, pp. vi, vii; Col. Robert Hodgson, *Some Account of the Mosquito Territory*, p. 51; Ephraim George Squier, *Nicaragua, Its People, Scenery, Governments and the proposed Interoceanic Canal*, II. 412.

⁴ Squier, *Honduras*, p. 167.

wherein the British agreed to withdraw from all settlements on the Bay of Honduras. Nevertheless, by resorting to quibbles and technicalities, the British still retained their settlements on the Caribbean coast until 1786, when a new treaty was signed between England and Spain, whereby England again agreed to withdraw and to prevent all British settlement, except at Belize. The other forts and settlements were then abandoned and destroyed, and the Spanish resumed nominal possession, although they were never able to force the Indians to acknowledge their sovereignty.⁵

After the Central American States gained their independence from Spain, in 1821, they were too weak to assert their authority over the Indian tribes, and the Mosquito Indians were left to do as they pleased, and to cultivate their friendship with the British logwood-cutters settled at Belize. Trade was carried on with the British at other points along the coast, and settlements were encouraged by concessions of land freely granted by various Mosquito chiefs, in return for presents of rum and other favors.

One of these grants was made, on April 29, 1820, by George Frederick, king of the Mosquitos, to Sir Gregor McGregor, a Scotch adventurer, who had offered his services to Bolívar and had taken part in the campaigns waged by the Spanish-American colonists in Venezuela and Colombia to secure their independence from Spain. This grant of land covered about 70,000 square miles along the valley of the Rio Tinto, sometimes called the Black River. Since the mountains in which this river takes its rise were occupied by the Poyer tribe of Mosquito Indians, the name of "Poyais" was given to McGregor's grant.⁶

⁵ Squier, *Central America*, pp. 82, 639; Thomas Young, *Narrative of a Residence on the Mosquito Shore during the Years 1839, 1840, 1841*, pp. 54, 55.

⁶ Young, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Squier, *Central America*, p. 641; G. Hippisley, *Acts of Oppression committed under the Administration of M. de Villele, Prime Minister of Charles X, in the Year 1825-6*, p. 19; *Letter to the Editor of the Quarterly Review*, by Verax, February, 1823, p. 9; *McMillan's Magazine*, XLII. 343, 344. This is the same McGregor who attempted to wrest part of Florida from Spain.

The territory of Poyais corresponded roughly to the present department of Olancho, in Honduras. It was triangular in shape, its apex resting on the headwaters of the Black River in the Poyer Mountains, and its base following the coast line from Cape Cameron to Cape Gracias a Dios. It was well watered by several streams, the most important of which was the Black River. This river is a hundred and twenty miles long and is navigable for small craft to within twenty miles of its source. After emerging from the foothills, it flows through low but rich and densely wooded country, interspersed with swamps and beautiful savannahs, hemmed in on the south side by a ridge covered with a dense growth of pines. An early traveler describes these savannahs as beautiful as though laid out by a landscape architect, but useful only to support a few cattle, as the land was poor and unfit for cultivation.⁷ Near its mouth, the Black River branches out into a lagoon which is separated from the sea by a beach varying in width from two hundred to five hundred feet. The beach is covered with low brush, and the opposite shore of the lagoon with tall trees and impenetrable thickets. Dense mangrove swamps line both shores of the lagoon.⁸ The entrance to the Black River furnishes an insecure roadstead, rather than a harbor, for there is no protection afforded except by a shifting bar across its mouth, over which the prevailing north winds drive the sea in dangerous breakers.

Near here, in 1750, the British had established a small settlement, known as Black River, or Saint Joseph's, but this had been evacuated under the terms of the treaty of 1786. The Spaniards had refortified it, but had, in turn, been driven off by the Indians, who had then destroyed the settlement. By 1820 no vestige of it remained except a few graves overgrown by the jungle.⁹

⁷ Strangeways, *op. cit.*, p. 9 and map; Young, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁸ Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57; Squier, *Central America*, p. 83; Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁹ Strangeways, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

Yet it was at this desolate spot, near the mouth of the Black River, that McGregor determined to establish the nucleus of his colony of Poyais. He assumed absolute control over this part of the territory, adopting for himself the title of "Cacique".¹⁰ Before returning to Scotland to secure colonists for his scheme, he issued, on April 13, 1821, a proclamation to his Indians "subjects", in which he stated that "His Highness, the Cacique" was leaving to procure for them religious and moral instructors from Europe, as well as implements of husbandry, and persons to guide and assist them in the cultivation of the soil. Furthermore, he promised that none but an honest and industrious person should find an asylum in the territory.¹¹

McGregor was a past master at self advertisement and the promotion of money-making schemes. He exerted all his arts in this plan for colonization. At No. 1 Dowgate Hill, London, he established the Poyaisian Legation, where he displayed a parchment map showing the territory of Poyais, neatly marked out into squares of 540 acres each. He advertised the sale of lands at one shilling an acre cash, and one cent an acre annual quit rent. He issued banknotes promising to pay "on demand, or three months after sight, in the option of the Government of Poyais, One Hard Dollar". He then took steps to float a loan of 200,000 pounds sterling for the service of the "State of Poyais". Neatly engraved bonds were issued entitling the purchaser to four per cent interest, payable semi-annually. These bonds bore the signature of "Gregor the First, Sovereign Prince of the Independent State of Poyais and its Dependencies, Cazique of the Poyer Nation, etc., etc., etc."¹²

¹⁰ Archibald Robertson Gibbs, *British Honduras*, p. 81.

¹¹ Strangeways, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

¹² *MacMillan's Magazine*, XCII. 345; *The Times* (London), June 14, 1823; *Quarterly Review*, XXVIII. 158. The writer has seen in the possession of Edward W. Ames, formerly of 62 West 45th St., New York City (now Chappequa, N. Y.), a Poyaisian Land Grant (No. 1094) for 250 acres, dated April 5, 1834, and signed

McGregor exerted his energies in London especially toward obtaining funds, and in Edinburgh primarily toward securing colonists. In order to popularize the colony, ballads were composed, to be sung on the streets, proclaiming the delights of this Arcadia to which the settlers were invited. Followers were gained by the liberal distribution of titles of nobility and commissions in a paper army. An individual named Woodbine was appointed "General, Knight of the Green Cross, and Vice Cacique". But when General Woodbine's enthusiasm weakened and he absented himself without leave, Colonel Hector Hall was created "Baron Tinto" and was sent out as lieutenant governor to perform the hard work of establishing the colony and to sustain the onus for its failure. Apparently, General Woodbine never visited the colony, and it is certain that McGregor never did. Evidently they both preferred to assert the privileges of their rank, and to let some one else do the work and suffer the hardships.¹³

Further to popularize the scheme and to advertise the unparalleled advantages of Poyais as a place of residence, there was published in Edinburgh in 1822, a book entitled *Sketch of the Mosquito Shore, including the Territory of Poyais*, by "Capt. Thomas Strangeways, K. G. C., Capt. 1st Native Poyer Regiment and Aide-de-Camp to His Highness Gregor, Cazique of Poyais". The book was dedicated to "His Highness Gregor, Cazique of Poyais", whose portrait formed the frontispiece. This portrait showed McGregor, a middle-aged, corpulent, little man, in the full dress uniform of a general, holding in his left hand a plumed chapeau, and with his right pointing to an heraldic device which presumably represented the great seal of the kingdom of Poyais. The contents

by Gregor McGregor, and a 100 pound sterling bond of Poyais Loan (No. 154), dated October 6, 1823. The coupons on this bond profess to be worth two pounds each and to be payable November 1 and May 1. After having cut three coupons, the owner of this particular bond had evidently come to the conclusion that it was not worth his trouble to cut any more.

¹³ *Macmillan's Magazine*, XCII. 345.

of the book were cleverly designed to dazzle the imaginations of unreflecting persons and to inspire them with a longing to emigrate to that wonderful country or to invest in the bonds which McGregor's agents offered for sale.¹⁴

The book began with an assertion that McGregor's right to chieftainship could not be disproved, since he was descended from Clan Alpin or Gregor. The author then described the Mosquito Territory, and stated that, in spite of its name, few countries under the tropics were so little troubled with mosquitoes. He descanted on the valuable commerce and exports, consisting of indigo, cochineal, precious metals, mahogany, dyewoods, logwood, fustic, medicinal gums, hides, tortoise shell, lumber, and provisions; he filled page after page with descriptions of various species of valuable trees and plants which grew wild or with slight cultivation, and quoted the authorities for all his statements; he treated the cattle, wild animals, and game in the same manner, declaring that the latter was so plentiful that a single hunter or fisherman could, in a single day, supply a whole family with provisions for a week; and he ended with a chapter on agriculture, in which he showed, by carefully chosen statistics, that Poyais presented to the intelligent and industrious European settler an inexhaustible field for the most active exertions, with the certainty of ample and immediate remuneration for his labor or capital. Thus from a capital of 1,896 pounds sterling invested in sugar land, a profit of 1,200 pounds per annum free of all taxes might be secured; a profit of 1,000 pounds per annum might be made on 150 pounds invested in raising indigo; and after five years the annual profit on a coffee plantation would equal the investment. In conclusion, the author prophesied that, protected by the wise and vigorous administration, sound

¹⁴ Strangeways, *op. cit.*, dedication and frontispiece; Squier, *Central America*, 82, footnote. The *British Army List* for 1825 shows a Thomas Strangeways as a captain in the 9th Royal Veteran Battalion, with rank in the army from April 6, 1809, but it is not certain whether or not this officer was the author of the book mentioned.

policy, and comprehensive views of "His Highness the Cazique of Poyais", this beautiful country would rapidly advance in prosperity and civilization and would in a short time become "not the least considerable of those radiant realms beyond the Atlantic wave".¹⁵ This modest ending only gave greater force to the impression which the whole book was intended to produce, namely, that of all countries in the world, Poyais was the one where a family could establish a home for itself with the greatest comfort, and could gain wealth with the greatest rapidity and the least effort.

A reviewer of this book by Captain Strangeways averred that the information which it contained was copied from descriptions of Jamaica and the West Indies, and warned would-be investors not to be duped. Poyais was a paltry town of huts and log houses belonging to Spain, which owned the whole of Honduras and the Mosquito Shore. The English had no rights there except to cut logwood and mahogany, and the limit for logwood cutters was nearly two degrees north of Poyais and the Mosquito Territory.¹⁶

This in turn was answered by a "Letter to the Editor of the *Quarterly Review*" from a correspondent who signed himself "Verax". This letter confirmed Captain Strangeways' accounts of the fertility of the soil of the Mosquito Shore and gave as another argument in favor of founding settlements of English colonists there, the fact that in this way payment of at least part of the enormous debt which Spain owed, might be exacted by England, in the form of lands occupied by its nationals.¹⁷

These methods of arousing enthusiasm and the personal persuasiveness of McGregor and his agents resulted in inducing investors to buy his bonds and in persuading enough col-

¹⁵ Strangeways, *op. cit.*, pp. viii, 3, 11, 65, 69, 103, 144, 159, 238, 259, 270, 285, 293, 339, 346, 355, and *passim*.

¹⁶ *Quarterly Review*, October 1822, XXVIII. 158, 161.

¹⁷ *Letter to the Editor of the Quarterly Review by Verax*, pp. 7, 12.

onists to entrust themselves to McGregor to make it worth his while to send out four shiploads of them to Poyais. Most of the emigrants were Highlanders who had been driven from their homes by the encroachments of the sheep farmers. A few bought their land outright, but the majority went as indentured servants, to serve until they could pay for the land out of their wages. In an excess of generosity, McGregor offered to grant free passage out to the wives and children of colonists. Meanwhile, instead of devoting to the welfare of his colony the money amassed from the sale of bonds, McGregor was living in luxury at Oak Hall, Wanstead, where he kept up an elaborate establishment and spent his evenings in giving expensive banquets, by which he hoped to strengthen the loyalty of his followers. Captain Edgar, of the Poyaisian Lancers, later testified that at one of these banquets he, with others, had been induced to take the oath of allegiance to McGregor, but that his recollection of the terms of the oath was dim, because of the fact that the wine had circulated too freely.¹⁸

The first ship to sail was the *Honduras Packet*, Captain Hedgcock, which, on February 11, 1823, arrived off Black River with forty-three settlers aboard. These emigrants believed all that McGregor had told them, and expected to find the land so fertile that they could harvest two crops a year without working. Old people were among them, who had come in the hope of spending the rest of their days in peace and comfort. Instead of this promised land, however, when the *Honduras Packet* arrived, the expectant voyagers found only the desolate spot where Saint Joseph's had formerly stood, now overgrown with dense jungle, which it was necessary for them to clear.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Macmillan's Magazine*, XCII. 345, 346, 348; *Proceedings of an Inquiry and Investigation instituted by Major General Codd, His Majesty's Superintendent and Commander-in-Chief at Belize, Honduras, relative to Poyais*, p. 155.

¹⁹ *The Times* (London), September 2, October 24, 1823.

The ship anchored outside of the bar and sent the people ashore in small boats. When they were landed on the bank of the Black River Lagoon, they had no recourse but to remain there all night without shelter, as the impenetrable jungle required many hours of labor upon it, before sufficient space could be cleared in which to set up tents. Next day, work of unloading stores was commenced, but was carried on in such a haphazard and unskillful manner that little progress was made. In landing the barrels on the beach, they were rolled through the water, so that nearly all the provisions were soaked with salt water and spoiled.²⁰ After about a quarter of the cargo had been landed, Captain Hedgecock refused to allow anything more to be taken from the ship, alleging that Sir Gregor McGregor owed him a considerable claim, for which he would hold the remainder as security. Four days later a heavy gale forced him to weigh anchor and put to sea again. Thereupon he ran down to Cape Gracias a Dios, where he sold most of the stores to the natives.²¹

The name given to this settlement in Black River was Saint Joseph's, but for some time it remained little more than a name. In spite of detailed instructions from McGregor as to surveying the site for the settlement on the ruins of the former English town, little was done except to clear the stunted mahogany trees from about six hundred yards of sandy ground. Some miserable tents made of blankets, and a few flimsy lean-tos of leaves and branches, took the place of certain buildings of first necessity, the immediate construction of which the lieutenant governor had been ordered to provide for.²²

About a month later the ship *Kinnersley Castle* of Leith, Captain Crouch, arrived with one hundred and sixty more

²⁰ Young, *op. cit.*, p. 55; *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, p. 117; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823.

²¹ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, p. 118.

²² *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823; *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 49, 101.

immigrants. These poor people had expectations of finding a large town of from fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants, in a populous, open, and cultivated country.²³ Disappointed in their first view of the forlorn spot, for which they had left their homes and endured the hardship of a long voyage, they vented their wrath on the property of the man who had deceived them, and plundered his stores, with the avowed purpose of deserting the settlement as soon as possible. While engaged in landing their supplies they broken open boxes and hogsheds. Seven men banded themselves together, hoisted a black flag, and announced that they were thieves, pickpockets, and robbers by profession. Some became violent and quarrelsome, but the majority of the remainder gave themselves up to sullen brooding, and became so apathetic that they neglected to do even the most necessary work to provide for their own health and comfort.²⁴

Under such conditions, and unused to a tropical climate as they were, it is no wonder that disease seized upon them and spread rapidly. Lack of proper food and water, and failure to take the requisite sanitary precautions, brought on intermittent fever and dysentery. Nine persons died during the first few days and one hundred and twenty fell sick. Whole families were ill. Most of the sufferers lay on the ground without other protection from the sun and rain than a few leaves and branches thrown across some sticks. Many were so weak as to be unable to crawl to the woods for the common offices of nature. The stench arising from the filth they were in, was unendurable.²⁵

As if these horrors were not enough, all hope of retrieving their fortunes if they survived, was rudely shattered by the arrival of two proclamations from George Frederick August-

²³ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823; *The Times* (London), September 2, 1823; *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 70, 92.

²⁴ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, p. 129.

²⁵ *The Times* (London), September 2, 1823; *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 49, 62, 137.

tus, king of the Mosquito nation, in which he stated that, since General McGregor had assumed the title of Cacique in violation of specific prohibitions and since he had failed to fulfil his engagement with his Majesty, the grant of land made to him was now declared null and void. Further settlement of the territory would be prohibited, although those colonists who had already come might be permitted to remain for the benefit of trade, provided they took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, and paid, at the rate of twenty-five cents an acre, for the land which they had already bought from McGregor.²⁶ This, of course, necessitated their forswearing their allegiance as British subjects, and even if this were done, there was no possibility of paying for the land, since there was no money in the colony. Those to whom salaries or wages had been promised, were being paid in Poyais bank notes, which the, so-called, Bank of Poyais was unable to cash, and which the Indians refused to receive in payment even for the wild fruits and vegetables which they might otherwise have sold to the settlers.²⁷ This news left the poor people hopeless. Death seemed the most probable solution. Even if they should recover, there was no hope of their being permitted to live in this land. It was a choice of death or desertion.

Early in April, five persons, although in a weak and wretched condition, managed to make their way in an open boat from Saint Joseph's to the British colony at Belize. Their report of the distressing situation at Saint Joseph's induced Major General Codd, the British superintendent and commander-in-chief at Belize, to send succor. Two magistrates, Marshall Bennet and George Weston, were despatched in the ship *Mexican Eagle* to investigate conditions at the Black River settlement.²⁸ On their arrival in the evening of

²⁶ *The Times* (London), September 2, October 24, 1823; *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 65, 66, 68.

²⁷ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, p. 51.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 47, 48.

April 26, they were eagerly hailed and besought for a passage away. Lieutenant Governor Hector Hall decided that no stores should be removed, and that only the most distressing cases should be allowed to leave. With his permission sixty-six of the very ill, most of them women and children, were then carried back to Belize, where they were properly cared for in hospitals, and supplied with necessary food, medicines and clothing.²⁹

Before the departure of the *Mexican Eagle* with the sick women and children, Colonel Hall received a report from Dr. James Douglas, the surgeon of the settlement, recommending the immediate removal to Belize of all the colonists, most of whom were ill. Unless they were removed from their present condition of privations due to lack of shelter, clothing, fresh provisions, and good water, many of them could not be expected to survive. The doctor further reported that his stock of medicine was nearly expended, and that he himself was so ill as to be unable to render proper care to the sick.³⁰

The receipt of this report from his surgeon, together with the evidence of his own eyes, convinced Colonel Hall that the situation was hopeless, and that the colony could not survive under so many complicated evils. Now that the rainy season was about to commence, no improvement could be expected; finally, the revocation of the Poyaisian grant by the Mosquito king's proclamation, and the apparent hostility of the natives, seemed to render it impossible for him longer to maintain McGregor's claims. Surrounded by so much misery, Colonel Hall felt that the duty he owed to God and to society was greater than that which was owing to the man who had duped him as well as all these poor people, for whose lives he was responsible. Colonel Hall thereupon decided to evacuate the colony as soon as means could be provided, and wrote a letter

²⁹ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 51, 52; *The Times* (London), September 2, 1823.

³⁰ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, p. 64.

to General Codd entreating him to save the lives of the poor settlers by removing them to Belize.³¹

On the receipt of this letter, General Codd directed the *Mexican Eagle* to return to Saint Joseph's and to bring away to Belize all the remaining sufferers. When the ship arrived at the Black River settlement, it was found that every individual there was ill, except one man, named Todd. Whole families were helpless on their backs, and frequently had not the means of obtaining even a draught of cold water. One hundred and four persons were immediately embarked, while a few of the strongest were left behind in charge of the stores, the removal of which General Codd had forbidden, until he could investigate further the question of their ownership. After consultation with General Codd, Colonel Hall secured permission to take these stores away, and chartered the *Mexican Eagle* for that purpose. This was effected in two more trips, on the last of which the men who had been left in charge of the stores were enabled to depart. The final trip was made and the evacuation of Saint Joseph's was completed on June 25, 1823. Thus the entire colony of Poyais was assembled at Belize, where its members were cared for by the kindheartedness of the superintendent and the charitableness of the citizens.³²

General Codd appointed a committee to supervise arrangements for the care of these destitutes, and to regulate the necessary expenditure of public funds, as well as to collect additional private donations. The report of this committee shows a total expenditure, for this purpose, of three thousand, seven hundred ninety pounds and four shilling. This total included the cost of passage back to Britain of those who were sent home.³³ This committee also sold at public auction such

³¹ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 65, 69, 70, 134.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73; Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

³³ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 151, 152; *The Times* (London), August 25, 1823.

of the stores as were still undamaged or were sufficiently so to be salable.

Although this sale was conducted in a strictly legal manner, and the proceeds were devoted to the support of the settlers for whom they had been intended, gratitude for the gratuitous and disinterested labors of the committee and for the kindly charity of the citizens and officials of the colony at Belize, was not forthcoming from the projectors of the ill-fated enterprise, who had remained safely at home and had suffered none of the hardships.³⁴ Instead, a certain coadjutor of McGregor, who styled himself "George Augustine Low, late Colonel in the Colombian service", published a pamphlet entitled *The Merchants of Honduras Unmasked*, in which he charged certain officials of Belize and the merchants who gave their services to the committee, with embezzlement of McGregor's property, and with persuading the colonists to desert Poyais. Similar charges alleging the illegal seizure of merchandise, valued at thirty thousand pounds sterling, and mistreatment of the colonists of Poyais were made to Earl Bathurst, secretary of state for war and the colonies. When these charges were transmitted to General Codd, the latter instituted an investigation, the results of which clearly proved that the charges contained in the memorial were unjust, unfounded, and undeserved, and fully exonerated all those officials and merchants of Belize against whom the charges had been brought.³⁵

Even after the evacuation of Saint Joseph's, settlers continued to be sent out by McGregor. In August, 1823, the brig *Skeen* of Leith, John Wilson, Master, arrived off Black River with one hundred and five settlers for Poyais under the immediate charge of John Campbell.³⁶ Finding no vestige of a settlement, the passengers refused to land on the lonely and desolate shore to which McGregor had consigned them. They

³⁴ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, p. 80.

³⁵ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. iii, iv, 8, 159, 171.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 160; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823.

induced their leader to disembark them at Belize, where they became recipients of charity from the same committee that was caring for their predecessors. Owing, however, to the scarcity of provisions in Belize, consequent on the unusual influx of immigrants, a council was held at the government house, which decided that all immigrants who were incapable of obtaining employment at Belize, should be landed on some healthy and desirable spot where they should be cared for until such time as the land could be cleared, and they could support themselves on their own plantations. Those who were mechanics and chose to remain at Belize were allowed to do so, since they would be able to earn their own livelihood from their wages, and would not become a charge on the community.³⁷

Stann Creek, a place about forty miles north of Belize, was chosen as a site for the settlement, because of its dry and healthy situation. In order, however, that the settlers, unused to a tropical climate, might not be compelled to labor in the hot sun, until they could become acclimated, the authorities of Belize, in the excess of their liberality, hired a gang of twenty-five negroes, under a competent boss, to perform all the hard work of cutting away the brush, clearing the ground, building the houses, and enclosing the plantations, some of which they even planted before turning them over to the care of the owners. Stann Creek seemed in every way well adapted for colonization. The ground was firm and dry, it was well open to the sea, and enjoyed the delightful eastern breezes prevalent throughout the year and in the immediate vicinity there was a fine and plentiful supply of fresh water. The flies were troublesome at first, but this was remedied by the clearing away of the brush. Rations were distributed to the settlers to the amount of six quarts of flour, five pounds of salted meat, and one pound of sugar to each per week; soap in such quantities as might be needed; and tobacco to those who cared for it.

³⁷ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, p. 161.

The health of the colony was excellent, and only four deaths occurred during its existence.³⁸

Even here, under such favorable circumstances, the colonists were discontented. They were so lazy and shiftless that they would not exert themselves to perform even the most trifling labor, but waited for the hired negroes to do it for them. Having nothing to do, they became restless, and drifted away, some to Belize, some to Omoa and Truxillo, and some to other parts of the coast. The desertion became so serious that eventually only six settlers were left. Then John Campbell, who had been placed in charge of the settlement, determined to give it up and returned to Belize with the last survivors. Thus by April, 1824, the settlement at Stann Creek, like that at Saint Joseph's, had ceased to exist.³⁹

It is but fair to McGregor to emphasize this conduct on the part of the colonists, when they were living under unusually favorable conditions, and thus to relieve him from some share of the blame for the terrible fiasco at Poyais. Yet he deserves to be censured severely for deceiving his countrymen about possibilities of making their fortunes, which he knew could not be fulfilled. He cheated them when he sold them lands to which he had no title. Having inveigled them into his colony, he failed to provide them with suitable supplies to keep them alive, until they could clear the land and raise their first crop. He was criminally negligent in failing to select a healthy site and in sending out his emigrants to shift for themselves before proper sanitary precautions had been taken. He wasted in extravagant living the money which he should have spent in putting his venture on a sound basis. He must be blamed, too, for not rejecting all applicants who were evidently of such a character as to endanger the success of the undertaking. He accepted far too many, who were not only a danger to their fellows, but were not even competent to take care of them-

³⁸ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 162, 165, 166, 167.

³⁹ *Proceedings of an Inquiry*, pp. 167, 168, 169.

selves. It has been shown that even under the favorable conditions at Stann Creek, they were too slothful to profit by the bounties of nature. In a report to Colonel Hall, James Booth, land surveyor to the Poyaisian settlement, thus characterized his fellow-colonists, who arrived on the *Kinnersley Castle*:

Many conducted themselves in the most riotous, licentious, and quarrelsome manner. . . ; indeed, the major part of the lower classes were too evidently of the most vicious order of society; for I could scarcely have believed that all Scotland could have produced so many idle, worthless vagabonds.⁴⁰

Had the proper kind of men been chosen to found the colony, and had the women and children been kept at home until arrangements had been made to receive them, there seems to be no reason why the sickness and mortality should have been so heavy. Persons who had traveled in the Mosquito Territory spoke well of conditions there. Young frequently slept on the sandy bays in Black River, sometimes under a tarpaulin, without suffering any ill effects, and reported that it was possible for a man with common prudence to surround himself with all that he could require.⁴¹ Captain Hodgson and his son spent many years there and considered it desirable as a residence. William Pitt had lived at Black River most of his life, and his children left, with great regret, only because they were forced to go when the British evacuated under the terms of the treaty of 1786.⁴² The success of the neighboring colony of Belize is in itself a strong proof that this coast was suitable for habitation by Europeans. By the spirit and perseverance of its inhabitants, this place was, within half a century, changed from a cluster of a few wretched huts in the midst of a miserable swamp to a flourishing town of well-built houses, with a commerce of nearly

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴¹ Young, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴² Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

half a million pounds sterling of imports, employing twenty thousand tons of British shipping.⁴³

The fourth and last ship which McGregor sent out was the *Albion*, which sailed from the Thames a few weeks after the *Skeen* left Leith.⁴⁴ How many emigrants sailed on this ship, or what became of them is not known. Nearly two hundred souls perished in this attempt of McGregor to colonize Poyais. Had it not been for their removal to Belize, the mortality would undoubtedly have been greater. The Baymen received the royal approval of their humane conduct in going to the relief of the colonists. Only forty-five of the unfortunates were ever able to return to Great Britain, while scattered remnants of McGregor's dupes were to be discovered in exile about the Bay of Honduras for thirty years after.⁴⁵

Of course, it was not long before letters and reports began to come back from Honduras, telling of the sad straits of Poyais, and then some of the disappointed and vengeful colonists themselves returned, to relate how they had been deceived and cheated. Fourteen different ships arrived at British ports, having as passengers one or more of these returning colonists.⁴⁶ Many of these men, on their arrival at London, went to the Mansion House, where they made affidavits describing their horrible experiences. A public subscription was taken up under the auspices of the lord mayor, to help the returning survivors, and the Scottish Corporation provided transportation for some of them back to Leith.⁴⁷ The lord

⁴³ Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁴⁴ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823.

⁴⁵ Gibbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823. *Macmillan's Magazine*, XCII. 348. In 1839, Thomas Young was sent by the British Central American Land Company as deputy superintendent to re-establish a trading settlement at Black River, a concession for which had been obtained from Robert Charles Frederick, the then king of the Mosquito Nation. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 1 and *passim*; Squier, *Central America*, p. 82.

⁴⁶ *The Times* (London), August 25, September 2, 1823; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823; *Annual Register*, 1823, LXV. 136-139 "Chronicle".

⁴⁷ *Macmillan's Magazine*, XCII. 348.

mayor characterized the Poyais loan as the most complete humbuggery he had ever heard of, and expressed surprise at its success. The official report of the commissioners appointed by the government of Honduras showed that the Poyais fraud was a three-fold delusion: first, against the native Mosquito government, from which the land had been obtained under false pretenses; second, upon the miserable settlers, who were allured by the grossest misrepresentations; and third, upon the moneyed speculators of the stock exchange of London, who were gulled by sham security.⁴⁸

Yet in spite of the fact that his bubble had burst, McGregor kept on fighting against the inevitable. He brought suit for libel against the *Morning Herald*, but lost his suit on all points except one minor detail. With the aid of Colonel Low's pamphlet on *The Merchants of Honduras Unmasked*, he tried to saddle the blame on Colonel Hall's dishonesty and the jealousy of Belize merchants who sold his stores for their own benefit and conspired to wreck his settlement.⁴⁹ Then four of the returning settlers were induced to sign affidavits to the effect that the previous affidavits made by them, about their sufferings and the conditions in Poyais, were false and had been procured from them by fraud. To keep up the pretense of success, the Poyais agents in London even published notices advertising a new loan.⁵⁰ About this time, some dupes of his previous financial operations, in connection with the South American revolution, had McGregor arrested. After spending eight days in jail he recovered his liberty by paying the sum of 6,200 pounds sterling. Then, evidently believing that the exposure of his frauds would be less notorious in France,

⁴⁸ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823; *The Times* (London), September 1, 1823.

⁴⁹ *Macmillan's Magazine*, XCII. 348, 349.

⁵⁰ *The Times* (London), October 25, 1823; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1823.

McGregor crossed the channel, to extend the field of his financial operations.⁵¹

While in Paris he persuaded the Compagnie de la Nouvelle Inuestrie to purchase a concession of two hundred and fifty-six square leagues in Poyais, but owing to some irregularity or omission in the transaction, he laid himself open to a charge of violation of the laws, and was arrested on December 7, 1825. His friends claimed that McGregor could easily have escaped from France, but that he was determined to surrender himself to the authorities, and would have done so, had his friends not prevented him. Be that as it may, after having been confined in La Force until July 10, 1826, McGregor was tried before the Cour Royale and acquitted.⁵² In spite, however, of this rebuff, McGregor continued his efforts to delude the French people into a belief that his colony was still in existence, and issued a pamphlet entitled, *Constitution de la Nation Poyaisienne dans l'Amérique Centrale*, which was republished in Edinburgh in 1836 as a *Plan of a Constitution for the Inhabitants of the Indian Coast in Central America, commonly called the Mosquito Shore*.⁵³

Meanwhile, the vice-president of the republic of Colombia, which claimed some vague authority over the Mosquito Coast,⁵⁴ had issued a decree forbidding the colonization of any portion of that coast, including Poyais. McGregor thereupon wrote to Bolívar, asking him to honor the writer's efforts for the cause of humanity, and to take under his presidential protection the territory of Poyais; in a word, to revoke the decree. McGregor promised that, under Bolívar's protection,

⁵¹ Daniel Florencio O'Leary, *Memorias del general O'Leary, Correspondencia*, XII. 241.

⁵² G. Hippiusley, *Acts of Oppression Committed Under the Administration of M. de Villele*, pp. 30, 31, 49, 95.

⁵³ Squier, *Central America*, pp. 76, 82 f.

⁵⁴ Manuel M. de Peralta, *Costa Rica y Costa de Mosquitos, documentos para la historia de la jurisdiccion territorial de Costa Rica y Colombia*, pp. 388, 389, 541.

he would carry on his efforts to convert to the Catholic faith the numerous tribes of Indians which then wandered through those vast solitudes, and to induce them to adopt the habits of social life, and to convert their forests into smiling meadows and happy villages, thus making that country more worthy of its noble and illustrious protector.⁵⁵

At last, however, finding that there was no more money in his scheme, McGregor became convinced that he might just as well abandon further attempts to restore his colony to life. So he sailed to Venezuela to press his claims upon the gratitude of that nation, and in 1839 published at Caracas an appeal addressed to the congress, in which, without any pretense of false modesty, he set forth the inestimable value of his services to the republic during the years 1811 to 1819, in helping it to gain its independence.⁵⁶

With his usual success in inducing others to pay for his support, his efforts brought financial returns. By a legislative decree of March 5, 1839, the congress of the republic of Venezuela restored him to his former grade of general of division, with one-third of the salary pertaining thereto. He was also granted the sum of four hundred pesos from the treasury.⁵⁷ Thus self-exiled from his native land, McGregor lived in Caracas, supported by the bounty of a foreign state until his death there on December 4, 1845.⁵⁸

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Columbia University.

⁵⁵ O'Leary, *Correspondencia*, XII. 240, 241.

⁵⁶ Gregor McGregor, *Exposicion documentada que el General McGregor dirigió al Gobierno de Venezuela resolución que a ella recayo, passim*.

⁵⁷ McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁵⁸ Ramón Aspurrúa, *Biografías de hombres notables de Hispano-América*, II. 367; *Dictionary of National Biography* (Sidney Lee, ed.), XXXV. 95; Eduardo Posada, *Apostillas a la historia Colombiana*, p. 225; F. Loraine Petre, *Simón Bolívar, el Libertador*, p. 176 n.

THE HISPANIC AMERICAN POLICY OF HENRY CLAY, 1816-1828

Soon after the conclusion of their War of Independence, the United States began to show a considerable and healthy interest in the Spanish colonies in South America, where similar movements were in progress. Such manifestation was altogether natural, in view of United States commercial interests, already well defined;¹ the similarity of Hispanic American problems with those of the English colonies before and during the Revolution, and the apprehension of European policies for several years after the Congress of Vienna.² Besides, active relations with the people of Spanish America were quite in keeping with the theory of isolation and aloofness from Europe which had already been expressed by Washington and others. It was inevitable, therefore, that Hispanic American policy should become in some degree a political issue.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, American party issues were raised very largely along sectional lines. Differences in environment signified contrasts in wealth, economic interests, education, and ideals. By the close of the War of 1812, political contests were becoming struggles between the old materialistic East and the new idealistic trans-Allegheny West, and political leaders were no longer confined to the coastal states. The leader of the young group of western politicians in the period following the War of 1812, and an outspoken partizan, was Henry Clay, who had made his début in national circles in 1806, as a senator from Kentucky. It is impossible to state exactly to what extent Clay represented

¹ C. L. Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, ch. I.

² W. P. Cresson, *The Holy Alliance: the European Background of the Monroe Doctrine*.

the people of the new west and to what extent personal idiosyncracies prevailed in his advocacy of specific issues, but it is certain, that while he always spoke according to his own convictions and understanding, he was essentially a product of the new west; and in his speeches and public work he typified the spirit, the ideals, and the interests of the middle west, which had grown up without respect for precedent, authority, or vested rights. Clay was the mouthpiece of his own state of Kentucky and of the growing Mississippi Valley, and the sentiments which he thundered forth on the floor of the House of Representatives or expressed in communications of state were peculiarly pleasing to his constituents, as will presently appear.³ His long and consistent championship of the budding Spanish-American nations at the most critical period in their struggles for freedom may therefore be taken as altogether characteristic of western ideals and interests. Through Clay, the west found self-expression and contributed not a little to the cause of Hispanic American independence.

As early as 1810, Clay said, in advocating the extension of United States claims against Spain and France: "I have no commiseration for princes. My sympathies are reserved for the great mass of mankind. . . ." ⁴ This was the keynote of his life work. Hardly had the War of 1812 with England been brought to a successful conclusion at Ghent, when Clay, who had been a representative at the peace maneuvers, raised his voice in behalf of the struggling peoples of Spanish America, and refused to be silenced either by criticism or by the exigencies of state until the independence of the southern republics had been recognized and their safety assured.

In 1816, the Spanish minister at Washington, hoping to prevent the fitting out of privateering vessels in United States

³ *Vide*, *North American Review*, 1857, p. 160; A. M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, pp. 63, 202-203; F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, pp. 168, 171.

⁴ *Annals of Congress*, 11th Congress, 3rd Session, p. 35; *vide* *North American Review*, 1831, p. 357.

ports, influenced President Madison to urge a new law to enforce neutrality. Clay hotly opposed this, insisting that the neutrality law of 1794, which had for a long time sufficed, was good enough, but in the debate on the question in January, 1817, he proceeded to declare further:

For my part, I wish their (the Spanish colonies') independence. . . . Let them have free government, if they be capable of enjoying it; but let them have, at all events, independence. . . . I may be accused of an imprudent utterance . . . on this occasion. I care not; when the independence, the happiness, the liberty of a whole people is at stake, and that people our neighbors, and brethren, occupying a portion of the same continent imitating our example, and participating of the same sympathies of ourselves, I will boldly avow my feelings and my wishes in their behalf, even at the hazard of such an imputation.⁵

This speech is quite characteristic of the man prior to his becoming secretary of state in 1825, and it helps explain his great popularity among the hero-worshipping Kentuckians, as well as among the South Americans, lending color to the recent assertion that Clay was the first Pan-American.⁶

That Clay had the hearty support of his own state on the question of Hispanic American independence is shown by a series of resolutions adopted in both houses of the Kentucky legislature in January, 1818, partly prompted, no doubt by the prominence of the issue in congress. The state senate, in a resolution "truly expressive of the sense of the people of Kentucky of the 'patriotic' struggle of South America, and on

⁵ *Annals of Congress*, 14th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 742; cf. Carl Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, I. 146-147; Chandler, *op. cit.*, p. 150. Schurz will have none of the statement that Clay's zeal for the South American patriots was wholly owing to his desire to annoy the Monroe administration.

⁶ Cf. J. B. Moore, "Henry Clay and Pan-Americanism", in the *Columbia University Quarterly*, September, 1915; Chandler, *op. cit.*, chap. V, "The Pan-Americanism of Henry Clay". Clay was voted the thanks of the Supreme Congress of the Mexican Republic for these generous sentiments (*Niles' Register*, XII. 208).

the general policy which the general government ought to pursue'', resolved:

That the people of this state view with the most lively emotion the patriotic struggles of their South American republican brethren to throw off and break in pieces the yoke of Spanish despotism; to take their stand among the nations of the earth. . . .

That it is, in our opinion, wise policy, as well as justice, for the government of the United States to acknowledge the independence of such former Spanish Colonies in South America as shall have shown themselves capable of vindicating and maintaining rights of self-government.⁷

And the lower house, in repeating these sentiments, included the statement that:

The struggle of the patriots of South America for the rights of self government, is justified by the law of God and nature.⁸

With the debate on the neutrality bill, the question of United States attitude toward the struggling Hispanic American states definitely entered the realm of politics. As Clay and his colleagues had opposed any measure during Madison's administration which appeared likely to interfere in any way with the acquisition of independence by the Spanish-American colonies, so during that of Monroe they attempted to compel the government to grant official recognition to those former colonies of Spain which were apparently maintaining their independence. While there were many other points of divergence between the western party, led by Clay, and the administration, this was made one of the principal issues, and Clay, in his capacity as speaker of the house, gave Monroe and his cabinet little peace.

President Monroe personally did not look with disfavor on the cause of the revolted Spanish colonies, as was indicated in his message to congress on December 2, 1817, in which he said:

⁷ *Niles' Register*, XIII. 371.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

It was anticipated that the contest between Spain and the colonies would become highly interesting to the United States. It was natural that our citizens should sympathize in events which affected their neighbors.⁹

Nevertheless, he felt that the United States must keep impartially neutral for two prime reasons; first, it would not be safe to act on so important a matter without the support of at least one European power of importance, and second, any action favorable to the Spanish colonies would seriously delay, if not entirely prevent, the acquisition of the Floridas from Spain, which was looked upon as a political necessity. Indeed, one is inclined to suspect that Spain appreciated the latter reason, and procrastinated as much as possible in order to prevent any act of recognition by the United States.¹⁰

Meanwhile, Monroe, on his own responsibility, sent out Messrs. Rodney, Graham, and Bland to South America to investigate and report on existing conditions.¹¹ To what extent this was intended as a concession to Clay and his friends it is difficult to determine.¹² At all events, when the matter came up in the house in March, 1818, in connection with that part of the annual appropriation bill which called for \$30,000 for compensation to the commissioners, Clay strongly protested at the move, declaring it to be both unconstitutional and impolitic.¹³ He therefore moved to insert in the bill a provision to appropriate \$18,000

as the outfit and one year's salary of a minister to be sent from the United States to the independent provinces of the River Plate.¹⁴

This amendment gave rise to a debate which lasted for several days. In defending his stand, Clay very clearly stated

⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 236-237.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII. 96, 223; Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 150. See below, p. 467.

¹¹ *Niles' Register*, XIII. 223.

¹² *Cf.* Clay's speech of December 3, 1817; *Niles' Register*, XIV. 49; Calvin Colton, *Life and Times of Henry Clay*, I. 215-216.

¹³ *Niles' Register*, XIV. 99.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

the interest of the west in South America. He pointed out the rich commercial opportunities in South America, where United States goods could be paid for in the precious metals, and where a favorable balance of trade could be developed. He showed wherein the commercial needs of the two Americas were complementary in character. He believed that the British trade must presently decline, and that the South American trade would prove a good substitute. And, moreover, he insisted that the Hispanic American states would prove to be no agricultural rivals of the United States, for of the estimated \$81,000,000 of exports in 1817, he did not believe that more than \$1,000,000 in goods could compete with those of the United States.¹⁵

But other statements in his address are more significant in showing the attitude of the new west toward the pending Spanish treaty, involving the Floridas and Texas. On this, Clay said:

The immense country, watered by the Mississippi and its branches, had a peculiar interest. . . . Having but the single vent of New Orleans, for all the surplus produce of their industry, it was quite evident that they would have a greater security for enjoying the advantages of that outlet, if the dependence of Mexico upon any European power were effected. Such a power, owning at the same time Cuba, the key to the Gulph of Mexico, and all the shores of that Gulph, with the exception of the portion between the Perdido and the Rio Grande del Nord, must have a powerful command over our interests. Spain, it was true, was not a dangerous neighbor at present; but in the vicissitudes of states, she might be again resuscitated.¹⁶

Having laid an economic basis for his cause, Clay proceeded to indulge his bent as an idealist, in presenting the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126; Colton, *op. cit.*, I. 216-221.

¹⁶ *Niles' Register*, XIV. 126. Clay was answered principally by Forsyth, who challenged the accuracy of Clay's figures, and tried to minimize the importance of securing the free navigation of the Mississippi, saying that was a matter "which might be safely trusted to our gallant tars and the people of the west" (*ibid.*, p. 162).

political and moral phases of the case. Here he outlined what he termed an American policy, which was, to all intents and purposes, a Pan-American scheme:

There could not be a doubt that Spanish America, once independent, . . . would be animated by an American feeling and guided by an American policy. They would obey the laws of the system of the new world . . . in contradiction to that of Europe. . . . In relation to those [European] wars, the several parts of America will generally stand neutral. And as during the period when they rage, it will be important that a liberal system of neutrality should be adopted and preserved, all America will be interested in maintaining and enforcing such a system. The independence then of Spanish America was a matter of primary concern.¹⁷

While Clay's motion to amend the appropriation bill was lost by a vote of 115-45,¹⁸ the influence of his oratory was far reaching. It is said that the speech of March 24 was

translated into Spanish, and read at the heads of different regiments [of the Hispanic-American armies of independence], where it was received with great applause.¹⁹

The acceptability of Clay's statements to his own people is well shown by the ovation given him at a public dinner in Lexington, Kentucky, after his speech on the appropriation bill. He was lauded

in testimony of respect for his character and services, generally, but especially in evidence of the approbation of his exertion for the patriots of South America.²⁰

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124; cf. p. 130; Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 148-149.

¹⁸ *Niles' Register*, XIV. 101.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XV. 32. Cf. George Canning's statement in the house of commons in 1823, that he had "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the old".

²⁰ *Niles' Register*, XIV. 295. At about the same time, Col. Barker, who was one of the "independent minority of 45", was being feted by his constituents at Marietta, Ohio, for his part in favoring American independence.

Clay displayed his sectional South American sympathies again in connection with the Florida question. In February, 1819, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams completed a treaty with Spain, which provided for the cession to the United States of the whole of Florida, and fixed the southwest boundary at the Sabine River, thus excluding Texas. The United States senate unanimously approved the treaty, but the king of Spain did not sign it within the stipulated period of six months. It was possible, therefore, to take the stand that as the terms of the agreement had not been fulfilled, it consequently became void. Clay immediately made this assertion, insisting that the treaty ought not to be renewed.²¹

The treaty hung fire for several months, but before it was consummated, Clay scored a notable victory in his efforts to force the administration to declare in favor of the new republics. On April 3, 1820, he introduced a resolution in the House, stating that:

It is expedient to provide by law a suitable out fit and salary for such minister or ministers, as the president, by and with the consent of the senate, may send to any of the governments of South America which have established and are maintaining their independence from Spain.²²

This resolution was carried by a small majority, but until negotiations with Spain were concluded, no executive action on the resolution could be taken.²³

Clay naturally ascribed the "watchful waiting" policy of the administration to weakness and fear. In an address at Lexington, Kentucky, on June 7, 1820, he scored President

²¹ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 163. Monroe and Adams had agreed to the Rio Grande in deference to what they thought was New England sentiment against southwest expansion and the opportunity for the spread of slavery. Jackson thought it most important to secure Florida, regardless of Texas, as he believed the former "the vulnerable spot in our national armor". Clay hardly forgave Jackson for this. *Vide* Colton, *op. cit.*, I. 238-239, 259-260.

²² *Niles' Register*, XVIII. 112.

²³ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 165-166; Colton, *op. cit.*, I. 239; Chandler, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

Monroe, and incidentally made some statements with regard to the place of the United States in the western hemisphere which sound strangely like parts of the so-called Monroe Doctrine, which was formulated a few years later. Clay insisted that the United States had always acted on the principle of recognizing the *de facto* government of any nation, and that free, independent and sovereign states existed in South America which were refused recognition. He continued:

We are the natural head of the American family. I would not intermeddle in the affairs of Europe. We wisely keep aloof from their broils. I would not even intermeddle with those of other parts of America, further than to expect the incontestible rights appertaining to us as a free, sovereign, and independent power; and I contend, that the accrediting of a minister from the new [La Plata] republic is such a right.²⁴

Further attempts to coerce the administration by means of a congressional appropriation for the sending of a minister or ministers to South America were defeated in February, 1821, by a small margin, though a resolution expressing sympathy with the Hispanic American states, and authorizing the President,

whenever he may deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of any of the said provinces,

passed by a large majority.²⁵ However, a few weeks later (February, 22), the Spanish treaty was proclaimed,²⁶ and although Clay had opposed it to the last, its completion removed one of the greatest obstacles to his South American policy. On March 8, 1822, President Monroe sent a message to congress, recommending the recognition of the existing South American states, which was enthusiastically granted.²⁷

²⁴ *Niles' Register*, XVIII. 327; Colton, *op. cit.*, I. 225-228, 233.

²⁵ *Niles' Register*, XIX, 398, 400; Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 167.

²⁶ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 165; Colton, *op. cit.*, I. 237.

²⁷ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 167; Colton, *op. cit.*, I. 244; J. B. Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, p. 300.

This official recognition was not the end of the struggle which had been waged for the sovereignty of the Hispanic American peoples, but it marks the end of the first phase of the question as a political issue in the United States.

If Clay's motives through these years had rested on a political basis alone, he might well have rested on his oars after having thus gained his point. But, as Schurz says:

there is no doubt that those appeals were on his part not a mere manoeuver of opposition, but came straight from his generous impulses. The idea of the whole American continent being occupied by a great family of republics would naturally set his imagination on fire. . . . This tendency was reinforced by his general aptness to take a somewhat superficial view of things.²⁸

And it is interesting to note that while Clay and John Quincy Adams had been bitter political enemies for a number of years, once the Spanish treaty was *un fait accompli*, and recognition had thereafter been willingly granted the South American republics, the two men were presently able to establish the closest political partnership on the basis of agreement on foreign policy.²⁹

The second phase of Clay's work in behalf of the Hispanic American peoples is in connection with his efforts to insure their permanence and safety. In 1815, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England entered into a Quadruple—popularly termed, the "Holy"—Alliance, in the interests of European peace on a basis of "legitimate" monarchy and the suppression of revolutionary tendencies. This alliance, acting as the concert of Europe, presently adopted a doctrine of intervention for the sake of restoring to European sovereigns any of their dominions which might have revolted. In 1820 there were some preparations for intervention in America for the sake

²⁸ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 168.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171. Early in 1824, the Kentucky Legislature passed a resolution expressing entire approbation of the recognition of the independence of the Spanish American republics. See *National Intelligencer*, January 28, 1824.

of restoring to the king of Spain his rebellious American colonies. The British minister, George Canning, had proposed to Richard Rush, minister from the United States, that a joint declaration be issued by Great Britain and the United States against the projected intervention.³⁰ This was refused by American state authorities, but the impending danger did not fail to rouse Clay's oratory on behalf of the Hispanic American patriots. Speaking to an enthusiastic audience at Lexington, in July, 1821, he said, after once more advocating recognition of the new republics:

It had seemed to him desirable that a sort of counterpoise to the Holy Alliance should be formed in the two Americas in favor of national independence and liberty, to operate by the force of example and moral influence; that here a rallying point and an asylum should exist for freemen and for freedom.³¹

This was quite in keeping with what Clay termed an American policy, a part of which, at least, found more weighty expression in the Monroe pronouncement two years later. After all, as is now generally understood, the seeds of the Monroe Doctrine were sown by Jefferson and Clay; the actual phrasing was largely the work of John Quincy Adams, while Monroe's name attached to it chiefly by virtue of his presidential office.³²

However, the Monroe Doctrine, the work of both political parties, failed to receive any legislative confirmation at the time it was issued. Early in 1824, Clay offered a resolution in the house without debate, stating that the American people

³⁰ Col. E. M. Lloyd, in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XVIII. 77-99; cf. Richard Rush, *The Court of London, 1819-1825*, pp. 16, 366.

³¹ *Niles' Register*, XX. 301; James Schouler, *History of the United States*, III. 291, n.; Colton, *op. cit.*, I. 241.

³² Cf. D. C. Gilman, *James Monroe*, pp. 156 ff.; *Niles' Register*, XXV. 219; W. C. Ford, *Documents on the Genesis of the Monroe Doctrine*, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XV. (1901), 373-436; W. F. Reddaway, *The Monroe Doctrine*, p. 25.

would not see without serious inquietude any forcible interposition of the allied powers of Europe in behalf of Spain, to reduce to their former subjection those parts of America which have proclaimed and established for themselves, respectively, independent governments, and which have been solemnly recognized by the United States.³³

This was essentially what Monroe had said at the beginning of the session, yet Clay's resolution was never called up for debate.³⁴ Indeed, in giving instructions to the United States delegates to the Panama Congress in 1826, Clay felt compelled to warn them that the Monroe Doctrine was to be interpreted to the assembled Hispanic American delegates as meaning only that each American nation should resist foreign influence and intervention with its own means.³⁵

Clay's later endeavors in behalf of the Hispanic Americans were somewhat circumscribed by his political ambitions and activities. In the presidential campaign of 1824, he made a strong bid for the chief executive office, basing his claims to consideration very largely on his reputation as the "benefactor of the human race and lover of liberty".³⁶ But his rival, Adams, could also point to his services to the South Americans; and after the latter's election, it was this similarity of views on South America probably more than any other factor which made possible the coöperation of Adams and Clay as members of the same administration.

With his appointment as secretary of state, Clay's utterances on Hispanic American affairs take on a distinctly more conservative tone. This may be accounted for in several ways. The increased responsibilities of the department of state undoubtedly had a sobering effect; the idealist was forced to become more of a practical statesman. Moreover, much of

³³ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 209; Rush, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

³⁴ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 210-212; H. Petin, *Les États-Unis et la Doctrine de Monroe*, p. 51; G. F. Tucker, *The Monroe Doctrine; A Concise History of Its Origin and Growth*, p. 21.

³⁵ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 269.

³⁶ *Niles' Register*, XXVIII. 62-63.

the work he had undertaken for his South American neighbors had been accomplished. But a certain amount of disillusionment was also taking place. The newly established Hispanic American republics had not proved to be "asylums for free-men and for freedom". And as his new official duties brought more and more information as to the extent of violence, fraud, and misgovernment in Hispanic America, Clay's enthusiasm and feeling of fraternalism gave place to a reserved attitude and a calculated policy of safeguarding the interests of the United States by refusing to assume any further embarrassing obligations for conditions in the western hemisphere.

Nevertheless, Clay did not cease his efforts to end Spanish wars in South America as essential to the best interests of his own country. In May, 1825, he wrote Henry Middleton, United States minister at St. Petersburg, officially asking that the czar be persuaded to employ his good offices to stop the war between Spain and the remaining Spanish continental colonies. In this bit of diplomacy Clay the statesman is apparent, while Clay the idealist is not in evidence. He attempted to make his proposition attractive by suggesting that if Spain persisted, it would undoubtedly provoke Hispanic American privateers to attack the Spanish West Indies, and even Spain itself.

If, on the contrary, Spain should consent to put an end to the war, she might yet preserve what remains of her former American possessions. . . . From this point of view, it is evident, that it is not so much for the new states themselves, as for Spain, that peace has become absolutely necessary. Their independence of her, whatever intestine divisions may, if intestine divisions shall unhappily await them, is fixed and irrevocable.³⁷

Most of the relations between the United States and the Hispanic American republics during the remainder of Clay's control of the department of state were connected in some way with the project for a Pan-American congress. A grand council of the South and Central American republics had been

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XXX. 49-54, 61-62, 78-82, *passim*.

planned by Bolívar, "El Libertador", as early as 1821. In 1825, plans for such a meeting were definitely under way, and in April of that year, Clay was approached simultaneously by the Mexican and Colombian ministers, who inquired whether the United States would favorably consider an invitation to be represented at the congress to be held at Panama City.³⁸ This was directly in line with what Clay had suggested at various times since 1816.³⁹

The proposal to send delegates was promptly agreed to, with the proviso that the United States would participate only in matters which pertained to the western hemisphere, but would not, of course, discuss the existing situation with Spain. This reply was considered satisfactory, and invitations were formally issued to the United States. But the Pan-American ointment did not remain undefiled. To begin with, difficulties arose with Mexico over the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and commerce. The United States minister, Joel R. Poinsett, found that Mexico had already signed a treaty with Great Britain, whereby Britain was given most-favored-nation treatment, along with the other powers, including the United States, from such benefits. Poinsett objected to this, and was strongly supported by Clay, who pointed out that the position and responsibility taken by the United States in Hispanic American affairs gave the United States a right to expect to be placed in the most favorable position. He pointed out, also, that Mexico having invited the United States, but not Britain, to participate in the Panama Congress, would seem to admit this contention. It was

deemed better to have no treaty, and to abide by the respective commercial laws of the two countries, than to subscribe to a principle wholly inadmissible, and which, being assented to in the case of Mexico, might form a precedent to be extended to others of the new states.⁴⁰

³⁸ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 267.

³⁹ See above, pp. 464, 466, 468.

⁴⁰ *Niles' Register*, XXX. 80.

The Mexicans, considering themselves pledged to England, refused to make the necessary concessions, and the commercial negotiations fell through on the very eve of the Panama Congress.⁴¹

Another unpleasant situation arose in connection with the almost simultaneous discoveries that there was a large French fleet, on a war basis, cruising in the West Indies without any declared object, and that the French had been invited or permitted to send an agent to the Panama Congress.⁴² In this connection, Clay authorized James Brown, United States minister to France, to make clear the position of the United States on such a point.

With the hope of guarding, beforehand, against any possible difficulties . . . that may arise, you will . . . add that we could not consent to the occupation of those islands by any other European power than Spain, under any contingency, whatever. Cherishing no designs on them ourselves, we have a fair claim to unreserved knowledge of the views of other great maritime powers in respect to them.⁴³

This was a slight improvement on the original Monroe Doctrine, regarding the transfer of existing European holdings. The French government issued a courteous reply to this representation, but the result was, nevertheless, to breed a feeling of suspicion and restraint in the United States at a time when, for the success of the Panama Congress, one of entire frankness and confidence was necessary.

Under such circumstances, with revolt and civil war rife in the newly-emerged southern republics, and with the United States in ill humor, the Panama Congress was foredoomed to failure. Representatives, bearing varying types of instructions, assembled at Panama City in June, 1826, from four of the new states. President Adams had meanwhile appointed

⁴¹ *Vide ibid.*, pp. 113-115, *passim*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 83; A. B. Hart, *The Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, p. 119; Petin, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

John Sergeant and Richard C. Anderson as delegates to the congress from the United States. But the United States representatives were seriously delayed in their departure by congress. The senate took great exception to the whole business, and questioned the right of Adams to send commissioners without its advice and consent. Even the house divided on the matter of voting a small appropriation for the commissioners,⁴⁴ and the necessary funds were not provided until late in the summer of 1826.

Meanwhile, Clay prepared instructions for the delegates. They were to watch, and advise, and talk, but not to act, unless on commercial matters, the slave trade, or neutral rights. They were to spread what propaganda they could for democratic government, freedom of speech and religion, and were to comport themselves generally as benevolent big brothers. Clay even departed from his ideals and principles enough to advise against the recognition of Hayti as an independent state, since a slave insurrection there might cause one in the southern United States. All enterprises in behalf of Cuba and Porto Rico were to be discouraged for the same general reason.⁴⁵ Besides, it was feared that with Cuba and Porto Rico in anarchy, some strong European naval power might become established there, and thus control the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River—which was unthinkable to Clay. The Panama meeting, then, was to be regarded as a “diplomatic conference”, but not as having any power to bind any of the states represented. There were to be no “entangling alliances”.⁴⁶

The Panama Congress was a doleful fiasco. One of the two United States delegates, Anderson, died en route, and

⁴⁴ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 271-272.

⁴⁵ While Clay did not personally approve of slavery, he felt under obligations to his slave-holding constituents, even to the extent of aiding Spain in retaining its island colonies.

⁴⁶ Cf. Schurz, *op. cit.*, I. 270-271; J. B. Lockey, *Pan-Americanism: Its Beginning*, pp. 409 ff., 427.

Poinsett was chosen to take his place. But meanwhile, the Hispanic American delegates had met, passed a few well-sounding resolutions, and adjourned to meet at Tacubaya, Mexico, in the following year—all before the United States envoys arrived.

Great was Clay's chagrin at the report of the mission. Adams and the other members of the government figuratively shrugged their shoulders and disclaimed responsibility for the scheme. Clay felt it incumbent upon him to once more defend his Hispanic American policy. On August 30, 1826, he spoke at a dinner given him by the citizens of Lewisburg, Virginia. After having referred to the election of 1824, he brought up the question of the Panama mission, asking his hearers whether they would not have acted as he did.

Those republics, now containing a population of more than twenty millions, duplicating their numbers probably in periods still shorter than we do, comprising within their limits the most abundant sources of the precious metals, offer to our commerce, to our manufacturers, to our navigation, so many advantages, that none can doubt the expediency of cultivating the most friendly relations with them. . . .⁴⁷

Then he declared that the interest of the southern states in Cuba had much to do with sending the mission to Panama.

No subject of our foreign relations has created with the executive government more anxious concern than that of the condition of the island, and the possibility of prejudice to the southern states, from the convulsions to which it might be exposed. . . . If there be one section of this union more than all others interested in the Panama mission, and the benefits which may flow from it, that section is the south. . . . The slave holding states cannot forget that they are now in a minority, which is in a constantly relative diminution, and should certainly not be the first to put a principle of public action by which they would be the greatest losers.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Niles' Register*, XXXI. 60-62.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62. Congressmen from the south had protested against the Panama mission as likely to involve entangling alliances. But by this time, Cuba, where Spain was believed to be poorly entrenched, was beginning to loom up as a possible slave section to offset the loss of Texas in 1819.

Nevertheless, Clay was deeply disappointed at the meager results of his diplomatic efforts.⁴⁹ Even his attempts to purchase Texas from Mexico in March, 1827, came to nothing. His pique is reflected to some extent in his attitude toward Bolívar. In 1825, at a public dinner, he had proposed the toast, after a lengthy and laudatory speech, "General Bolívar, the Washington of South America, and the President of Colombia". In 1827, Bolívar wrote Clay an appreciative note, saying,

all America, Colombia, and myself, owe your excellency our purest gratitude for the incomparable services you have rendered to us, by sustaining our course with a sublime enthusiasm.⁵⁰

But on this occasion, after waiting almost a year, Clay replied coldly:

I am persuaded that I do not misinterpret the feelings of the people of the United States, as I certainly express my own, in saying, that the interest which was inspired in this country by the arduous struggles of South America, arose principally from the hope, that, along with its independence, would be established free institutions, insuring all the blessings of civil liberty. To the accomplishment of that object we still anxiously look. . . . But I would be unworthy of your consideration . . . if I did not . . . state, that ambitious designs have been attributed by your enemies to your excellency, which have created in my mind great solicitude.⁵¹

However, in spite of numerous disappointments, the service on which Clay seems to have chiefly prided himself was that to the Spanish American republics.⁵² His practical works are summed up in a letter written him by Richard Rush, June 23, 1827:

. . . Next to their own exertions, the South Americans owe to you more than to any other man in either hemisphere, you having led the

⁴⁹ Schurz, *op. cit.*, I, 293-294.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Colton, *op. cit.*, I, 244.

⁵¹ Colton, *op. cit.*, I, 244-245; Lockey, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁵² Cf. Chandler, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

way to our acknowledgment of it. This is truth, this is history. Without our acknowledgment, England would not have taken the step to this day. . . . I give Mr. Canning no credit for the part he acted. It was forced upon him by our lead, which he never had the magnanimity to avow, but strove to claim all the merit for England, or rather for himself.⁵³

But the loyalty of Clay to national ideals and interests can not obscure the fact that at heart he embodied the traits of the west. Perhaps the best epitome of his greater aims and motives is contained in a letter of invitation to a public dinner, sent him by his own people in Lexington, Kentucky. The committee said (July 15, 1826):

In your long career as our representative, you were always found on the side of political liberty, human happiness and improvement. Two great continents hail you as the bold champion, and successful promoter of their best interests, their dearest privileges, and most valuable blessings. . . .

And to this, Clay replied, in part:

. . . It has, indeed, been always my aim, as you truly state, to be on the side of political liberty, human happiness, and improvement. . . .⁵⁴

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

Dickson Professor of History,
Tufts College.

⁵³ Colton, *op. cit.*, I. 211.

⁵⁴ *Niles' Register*, XXX. 375.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of American Foreign Policy. By JOHN HOLLADAY LATANE.
(Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1927. Pp. xiv, 725.
\$4.00.)

The announcement of this imposing looking volume was widely welcomed by teachers of American diplomacy. But to many, the advanced copies proved a disappointment. The table of contents shows a chronological arrangement by topics of thirty chapters grouped into six parts as follows: Part I. Republican Principles and Ideals (in five chapters, pp. 8-119); Part II. The Defiance of the Old World (in four chapters, pp. 123-222); Part III. Rounding out Borders and looking over Seas (in five chapters, pp. 225-357); Part IV. Safeguarding the Union (in five chapters, pp. 361-476); Part V. Expansion in Caribbean and Pacific (in five chapters, pp. 479-576); and Part VI. Intervention in Europe (in six chapters, pp. 579-705). This grouping, besides being rather too mechanical necessitates the use of chapter headings which do not always indicate their content. For example, the whole discussion of Pan Americanism is found in chapter 29 entitled "Latin America and the World War".

There is no preface to the work but an introduction (pp. ix-xiv) contains valuable information for the student of American diplomacy regarding available source material, most of which has been exploited by the author who has cited it in footnotes to the exclusion of pertinent monographic matter. In this connection it occurs to the reviewer that a very helpful bibliography—and there is none—would have been a list of monographs arranged topically for reference use. Certainly most of the citations appearing in the footnotes will not invite further investigation by the typical undergraduate.

Another noticeable characteristic of the work is the total lack of maps. Has the average college student progressed so far that he can understandingly read diplomatic history without the use of maps? It might not be out of place to remind publishers that many college teachers still desire more, rather than fewer, maps whether they be

formal full page, or small informal sketch, maps tucked away in a corner.

The index (pp. 709-725) is by no means complete or serviceable. For example, chapter 12 deals in part with Manifest Destiny as its title indicates, but the expression is not mentioned in the index. The following words, to cite only a few, are not listed: agents, alliances, ambassadors, Calvo, Civil War, consuls, conventions, Díaz, diplomacy, envoys, World War.

The body of the text, which is quite interestingly written, contains an unusual number of quotations. In the margin are topical paragraph notes. The treatment of the subject matter—sometimes with irregular emphasis—is after the orthodox manner and many of the bypaths of diplomacy, which give such a subject its appeal, are not indicated or even hinted at. To illustrate with three examples only: during the years 1808-1824 the Hispanic American nations were fighting for independence and in the United States much sympathy was expressed for them, and actual aid was given to them, both by sea and by land. Much of our neutrality legislation during these years, particularly from March 3, 1817 on, was influenced by this struggle, yet the whole question is dismissed in less than a paragraph (p. 170). Again, the discussion of the Manifest Destiny sentiment has been only briefly touched upon—though at intervals it has dominated the minds of many of our statesmen and diplomats—no attempt being made to trace its fluctuation particularly noticeable between 1846 and 1871. In 1910, Secretary of State Knox asserted that the Pan American Conference scheme ranked foremost in our diplomacy. Yet the treatment of the Pan American movement is hasty and brief. It is incorrectly asserted (p. 660) that the beginning of the Pan American movement dates from the Congress of Panama and Bolívar. In reality the roots of the idea antedate that period by a generation and more. Such omissions by one ostensibly so interested in the relations of the United States with Hispanic America are to say the least surprising.

However, much good may be said of the book. It fills an immediate need and is "teachable". The essential facts are well presented in a concise manner with an undistorted historical perspective. The work is scholarly and well documented. Teachers and students alike will be well repaid by using it.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

A New History of Spanish Literature. By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.
(London, etc.: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926.
Pp. xvi, 551. \$4.00.)

This work, of one of the world's foremost hispanists, better known in the French and Spanish edition, has long ago achieved general recognition as one of the best treatises extant in its special field. It is unnecessary, therefore, for the reviewer to express an evaluation of this product of fine and sympathetic scholarship. It may be of interest, however, to recall the curious history of this book which represents a growth, rather than an individual accomplishment. And to do this we cannot do better than quote the opening paragraphs of the preface by the editor, Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

Since the publication in 1898 of *A History of Spanish Literature* by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, his book has passed through various transformations. It may be of interest to record them. A Spanish translation (which recently reached its eighth edition) by Señor Don Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, with a preface by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, was printed in Spain in 1901; a French translation by M. Davray appeared in Paris in 1904. In 1913 the author recast his work entirely, and writing it in French, issued it at Paris; this version formed the basis of the new *Historia de la literatura española* (1914)—which is now reprinting for the fourth time—as well as a German translation (1925) by Fräulein Elisabeth Vischer. It was the author's custom to have his copy of each new edition interleaved. The book accompanied him everywhere. He worked at it continually—revising, correcting and perfecting; he embodied in it the results, not only of his own research, but of the criticisms and suggestions which he noted on the blank pages. And he continued to do this until within three days of his death (November 30, 1923).

The present volume . . . is as distinct from its English forerunner published twenty-six years ago, as the *Historia de la literatura española* of 1914 is different from the first Spanish translation. But through all its successive changes, the work represents the unwavering effort of the author to approach each time more nearly his ideal of what was true. To the attainment of this end he devoted his whole life.

From this it will be seen that the present work differs in important respects from the edition of 1898. It is, in fact, wholly rewritten, incorporating the great advances made in Spanish critical studies during the past quarter of a century. Bibliographical citations are up to date, and while not exhaustive are adequate to the needs of the student. The more important Spanish-American authors are briefly noticed. There is greater maturity and richness in the brief comments and

scintillating comparisons that show the author's thorough acquaintance with the Spanish and other European literatures.

The reviewer does not know of any other treatise in this field in which so much information is given in so compendious a form. No important author has been omitted, a fact that renders the work of special value for reference purposes.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

The Philippines: A Treasure and a Problem. By NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT. (New York: J. H. Sears & Co., Inc., [c1926]. Pp. xii, 315. \$3.50.)

Few books on the Philippines have been written in so thoughtful a vein as this. It should be read carefully by Americans and Filipinos, not, indeed, because its readers will all agree throughout with its conclusions, but because it furnishes many data for reflection and perhaps as a basis for future legislation. Mr. Roosevelt is not a believer in Philippine independence and he tells us why. He believes that the United States has attempted frequently to perform its tasks in the Philippines in a superficial manner, without sufficient thought and without a thorough understanding of conditions and peoples in the orient. He thinks that a close study of Dutch methods in the Dutch East Indies would have been beneficial. Instead of that the United States struck off rather haphazardly along lines of its own evolution in its own land, forgetting that Filipinos are not Americans; but he forgets that the United States, bred up under pioneer conditions, was only running true to form in its attempts at government in the Philippines. He condemns quite rightly the neglect of congress in not adopting and publishing a distinct Philippine policy. This is one of the greatest causes of present Philippine unrest. He concludes that at least three generations must pass before the Filipinos can govern themselves. The great danger to the Philippines, he says, "is that the sentimentality of the American people and the ignorance of their politicians will lead to a continuation of half measures". He would have the whole question studied coldly and objectively. The governor should be given sufficient power to govern the Filipinos efficiently. The educational system needs revision. The educational and economic factors are fundamental. Comparative study of other Far Eastern

colonial systems should be made. A clear cut statement by congress that the islands will not be relinquished within a given time will end the present political agitation. He points out that the United States has not exploited the archipelago, but has, on the whole, acted in a fairly decent manner. The Harrison régime he deprecates, for it was a slump and induced inefficiency to such a degree that the islands still suffer therefrom. Other peoples throughout Asia are closely watching the course of events in the Philippines and may take their cue from what happens there. Undoubtedly, many Filipinos and some Americans will disagree fundamentally with the author; but the book is not written in a rabid or in an unkind manner, but earnestly and soberly, and attempts to bring out the various problems confronting American rule. The letter of the secretary of war, Newton D. Baker, with reference to the governor general under the Jones bill of 1916 is presented in an appendix.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla (1573-1587). Por D. PEDRO TORRES Y LANZAS. Precedido de una *Historia General de Filipinas desde el Gobierno de Labezaris hasta la llegada a Madrid del Procurador de todos los Estados de dichas Islas P. Alonso Sanchez*. Por el P. PABLO PASTELLS, S. J. Tomo II. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1926. Pp. ccxlv, 188. Thirty Pesetas.)

In its general make-up, the second volume of this monumental work maintains the standard set by the first volume and by the five-volume series of Philippine documents which preceded it, and which were issued as a memorial to Magellan the European discoverer of the Philippines. The history of the archipelago is continued with a wealth of detail by Father Pastells to the time of the crisis of 1587 when the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez was sent to Spain to lay before the king and his council certain complaints and recommendations. In this volume are recounted, among other things, the trouble with the Chinese adventurer Limahong, the continuation of the Spanish conquest, early contact with the Moros, the governorships of Labezaris, Sande, Ronquillo de Peñalosa, and Vera, relations with Japan, China, and with the Portuguese, the arrival of the first Franciscan missionaries (1577)

and of the Jesuits (1580), Bishop Domingo de Salazar's activities, the first establishment of the audiencia of Manila, Cavendish's raid through the Philippines, commerce, encomiendas, general affairs of the natives peoples, ecclesiastical affairs, and lastly Sanchez's mission to Spain, one of the results of which was the suppression of the recently-founded audiencia. Throughout the account is a straight narrative with considerable quotation from original documents. With this should be read the documents in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*. In the *Catálogo* are listed all the documents treating of the Philippines between the dates of the volume (nos. 1810-3454). To each document is given its location, so that documents may be easily ordered from the archives. Many of these documents have been published in English in the series mentioned above. The entire volume is one of sources. It can not be regarded as *the* definitive history of the archipelago, although it is one of the most useful volumes that has appeared for the early history of the Philippines.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Virgin Spain. Scenes from the Spiritual Drama of a Great People.

By WALDO FRANK. (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926. Pp. [x], 301. \$3.00.)

This illuminating book is not history, but it would be well for every student and teacher of the history of Spain and Spanish-speaking countries to read it carefully and ponder it deeply. The author has here essayed a difficult task—that of explaining a people, of laying bare the very soul of a country—and he has achieved his purpose with uncommon acumen and brilliancy—a brilliancy, moreover that is far above mere cleverness. With philosophical insight he makes history, art, literature, religion, thought, and deed, serve as parts of his whole. Modern Spain, with its several distinct strains of peoples, is the result of the graftings of Greek, Roman, Visigoth, Arab, Berber, Moor, and Jew on the original stock.

The several sections in the volume are: Prelude: The sky of Spain; I. Hinterland in Africa; II. Hinterland in Spain; III. Andalusia; IV. Aragon; V. Castile; VI. The dream of Valencia; VII. The will of the Catholic Kings; VIII. The will of saint and sinner; IX. The will of Don Quixote; X. The will of God; XI. The rift in Barce-

lona; XII. The comedy of the Basque; XIII. Two Andalusians; XIV. The port of Columbus. Throughout these sections there is a richness in metaphor and simile seldom seen. Each page bristles with epigrams and striking phrases, and it may be that this is at times carried too far so that the general effect is lessened. One of the most vital conclusions of the author is that Spain is not degenerate, but is still virile, and still has great work to perform in the world. All who know their Spain at first hand will agree to this. The last section is merely a fanciful dialogue between Columbus and Cervantes but like all parts of the book it has a sustained interest. Mr. Frank has seen his Spain to good purpose.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Forgotten Shrines of Spain. By MILDRED STAPLEY BYNE. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926. Pp. 312. Maps; illus.; index. \$5.00.)

The author of this book knows and appreciates her Spain. She has done well to turn her attention to the old religious sites, for about them revolved not only much of the religious life of the country, but also of the social and political life. In turn we are taken to the Benedictine monasteries of Santo Domingo de Silos and San Zóil de Carrión de los Condes, both of Old Castile, the Carthusian royal monastery of Santa María del Pualar, of New Castile, the Hieronymite monastery of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, of Estremadura, the Franciscan convent and monastery of Santa Clara Moguer and Santa María de la Rábida, respectively, both of Andalusia, the royal convent of Sigena, of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of Arragon, and the Cistercian royal monastery of Santa María de Poblet, of Catalonia. And about these old historic reminders of Spain in the making the author has given a mine of information, told pleasantly and without too great a conscious effort of instructing. Careful directions are given for reaching each of the shrines and possible living quarters named and described for visitors who may not be "put up" at the mens' convents. Of considerable interest is the story of the conventual libraries and their dispersal and modern attempts at restoration. There are some sly little digs but these are never malicious for in general the author has approached her theme in a sympathetic manner.

The American will be most interested, perhaps, in the description of the convent of La Rábida, which was the home for some months of Columbus and whose prior heartily seconded the plans and hopes of the discoverer. Throughout there is evident an eye for the artistic merits of the several institutions. Taken altogether, the volume furnishes good background for the student, and should make excellent collateral reading for those beginning the study of Spain in America.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A FELLOWSHIP FOR LATIN-AMERICAN WOMEN WHO WISH TO STUDY IN THE UNITED STATES

[The fellowship established by the American Association of University Women for women of Hispanic America has great possibilities. It should promote mutual cultural understanding, forbearance, respect, and amity. Doubtless the women of Hispanic America will take full advantage of the opportunity offered through this fellowship, both to learn and to teach; for both the women of Hispanic America and of the United States must benefit from this contact. We are enabled through the kindness of the A. A. U. W. to publish some details relative to conditions governing the award of the fellowship.]

This annual fellowship (*beca*) of fifteen hundred dollars was established by the American Association of University Women as a gift of friendship to the women of Latin America.

The qualifications for candidates for the fellowship are:

1. They must be nationals of the Latin-American republics.
2. They must, in general, have degrees or diplomas representing at least four years of educational work beyond the secondary or preparatory school.
3. They must be at least twenty-one years of age.
4. They must have sufficient knowledge of English to enable them to understand and profit by lectures, use text-books, join in class discussions, and take examinations, in that language.
5. The purpose of their study shall be preparation for some form of public service to their countries in one or more of the following fields:
 - (a). Education, including scientific investigation, teaching, library work, etc.
 - (b). Social service, or any field whose aim is the improvement of social conditions in the community, or the increase of economic efficiency.
 - (c). Public health and sanitation, which may include the hygiene of dependent or delinquent children, or of those engaged in the industries.
6. The fellowship is to be used for advanced study in some educational institution of the United States, chosen by the successful candidate with the approval of the Committee on Fellowships of the American Association of University Women.

DIRECTIONS FOR APPLYING FOR THE FELLOWSHIP

Letters of inquiry and of application should be addressed to Dr. Agnes Low Rogers, Chairman of Committee on Fellowships, of the A. A. U. W., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

Letters of application and recommendation for the fellowship must be received by the Committee not later than January 1 of the year for which the fellowship is desired. *None can be accepted after that date.* American schools usually begin the year's work in September.

The letter of application should contain an account of the applicant's educational training, mentioning the time spent in each educational institution, a statement in full of the plan of study or research of the candidate, and her object in connection with it. It should be accompanied by

1. A certificate as to her work from the registrar, or similar officer, of the college or university awarding the degree or degrees which the candidate holds.
 2. Date of birth; testimonials as to the health, character, ideals, personality, intellectual ability, and scholarship of the applicant. If possible, at least one of the recommendations should be from a national of the United States, since Americans best know the educational ideals of their country.
 3. Theses, papers, or reports of investigations, published or unpublished, unless other requirements are specified.
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Dr. Mary Wilhelmine Williams, professor of American history at Goucher College, spent the past academic year in Hispanic America gathering data for the completion of her *History of the Latin-American People* and making an educational survey for the American Association of University Women in the interest of securing better qualified women as Latin-American fellows of the Association. For the present academic year Dr. Emilia Dezeo, of Buenos Aires, is the holder of the fellowship. In 1923 Dr. Williams traveled through Mexico and the Central American states, and last year was in Mexico again, and in all of the countries of the Caribbean and of South America. She has, therefore, visited all of the twenty Hispanic-American countries. During her recent visit she gave a number of addresses on educational and historical subjects before educational associations and the students of *colegios*, the Chilean universities, and the Universidad Nacional del Sureste in Yucatan.

Professor Percy A. Martin, of Stanford University, has recently been elected a corresponding member of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba and of the Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay.

The third half day session of the Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held at New Orleans on March 31 and April 1 and 2, 1927, was given over to a consideration of certain phases of the history of Hispanic America. Four formal papers were read. They were in the order of their appearance on the program: "The Ecclesiastical Policy of Emperor Maximilian", by Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven, University of Pittsburgh; "Significant Phases of the Constitutional Development of Chile", by Dr. Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University; "Bolívar as Seen by Yankee Diplomats", by Dr. J. Fred Rippey, Duke University; and "Sentiment in Favor of a Western League of Nations at the Pan-American Congress in Panama in June, 1926", by Dr. Charles W. Hackett, University of Texas.

The evening session of April 1, during the meeting of the Association of History Teachers for the Middle States and Maryland, was devoted to Hispanic America. Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University discussed the relations of the United States with Nicaragua as an example of the inevitable and to some extent unconscious imperialism of this country which has gradually extended our sphere of influence to the south, as our investments and enterprises in that region have increased in number and value. There was general discussion of the question afterward in which not only were certain phases of our Caribbean policy touched on, but the difficulty in presenting this subject to students, especially in the secondary schools.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

FERNÁNDEZ DE LIZARDI: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

In honor of the centenary of the death of Fernández de Lizardi (1776-1827) the Mexican novelist, pamphleteer, and patriot, whose constructive thinking was far in advance of his day, several Mexican scholars have prepared for publication this year a number of studies connected with his life and works. As a small tribute of homage in that connection, this bibliography is offered. It makes no pretence of being complete, but is intended merely to supplement the lists of the various works of Lizardi published in 1888 and 1925 by González Obregón by giving: (1) works of Lizardi hitherto uncited; (2) all available material on Lizardi written by his contemporaries; (3) the various studies concerning his life and works published since his death; and (4) the general and bibliographical works which contain information about him. The following abbreviations indicating where copies are owned are employed:

AI—Archivo de Indias.

BL—Bancroft Library.

BM—Biblioteca Medina.

BN—Biblioteca Nacional de México.

HS—Library of the Hispanic Society.

UT—Library, University of Texas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I

WORKS OF LIZARDI HITHERTO UNKNOWN TO BIBLIOGRAPHERS

1. MANUSCRIPTS

Fernández de Lizardi, José Joaquín. Letter to Servando Teresa de Mier Noriega y Guerra. Mexico, July 23, 1822. UT

2. PRINTED MATERIAL

Advertencias necesarias para la elección de diputados del futuro congreso. El Pensador. Mexico. Imprenta del autor, 1825. 8 p. BL
El Anuncio de la Paz. Por el Pensador mexicano. México: En la imprenta de Valdés. Año de 1817. 23 p. HS

- Diálogo por el Pensador entre el fiscal y defensor del Padre Arenas. El Pensador. Imprenta de la calle de Ortega núm. 23. Mexico, 10 de marzo de 1827. 4 p. UT
- Cual más, cual menos, toda la lana es pelos. 1812. Mentioned in the report of the censors for March, 1812. Included in *Ratos Entretenidos* (1819), but not known before as a pamphlet.
- Epitalamio. 1823. In verse. Included by Carlos María Bustamante in *Diario Histórico de México*, Zacatecas, 1896, pp. 441-442.
- La furiosa y la pelona. 1811. Mentioned by "J. M. L." in his criticism of Lizardi's poetry, *Diario de México*, no. 2271, December 21, 1811, p. 699.
- Guerra de religión anunciada por R. obispo y cabildo de Oajaca, en la contestación que dieron al dictamen de las comisiones sobre las instrucciones al enviado á Roma. José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. Mexico, Ontiveros, 1827. 8 p. BL
- Las justas quejas del Diablo. 1812. Mentioned in the report of the censor for March, 1812. Included in *Los Ratos Entretenidos* but not known before as a pamphlet. The same is true of the next four titles.
- México por dentro, ó sea guía de forasteros. 1812. Mentioned in the report of the censors for January, 1812.
- El muerto más hablador, y sumamente quejoso. 1812. Mentioned in the report of the censor for March, 1812.
- Los penitentes del diablo. 1812. Mentioned in the report of the censors for January, 1812.
- Que respondan los jurados si son necios ó comprados. El Pensador. Oficina de la Testamentaria de Ontiveros, año de 1826. 24 p. 4º. UT.
- Si dura más el congreso, nos quedamos sin camisa. Lizardi states (*El Sol*, no. 255, February 24, 1824) that he had written a pamphlet by this name.
- La verdad vestida de dama palaciega, 1822. Mentioned by Lizardi in letter to Mier, July 23, 1822.
- Ya en Oaxaca yo en Durango acabó la libertad. José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. Mexico, Ontiveros, 1826. 8 p. BL

3. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

- La abeja y el zángano, a fable in verse, and a reply to "J. M. L." in *Diario de México*, nos. 2325-6-7, February 14, 15, 16, 1812.
- In *Aguila Mexicana*, no. 273, January 12, 1825. Article in regard to the 2d. edition of *El Periquillo Sarniento*. Signed "El Pensador mexicano".
- In *ibid.*, no. 315, February 23, 1825. The Pensador criticizes the administration of the Coliseo, and claims that Castillo was responsible for the rejection of his drama, *La segunda parte del Negro sensible*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 335, March 15, 1825. The Pensador's reply to Castillo.
- In *ibid.*, no. 349, March 29, 1825. The Pensador answers the "presbítero zacatecano", revealing certain abuses that exist among the clergy.
- In *ibid.*, no. 8, April 22, 1825. The Pensador's reply to "La Curiosa".
- In *ibid.*, no. 178, October 10, 1825. The Pensador makes an announcement in regard to the *Observaciones* that he had made in reply to Lerda and Grageda.

- In *ibid.*, no. 202, November 3, 1825. The Pensador's reply to "C. O. y C".
- Amortización de moneda, in *Aguila Mexicana*, no. 347, March 27, 1825.
- Apología de Periquillo Sarniento, in *Noticioso General*, nos. 487 and 488, February 12 and 15, 1819.
- Contestación del Pensador al insulto. . . , in *Noticioso General*, no. 36, March 23, 1821.
- Cuero con el defensor de los encuerados viciosos, in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, no. 153, June 2, 1814. Signed "El Pensador".
- Embite (in verse), in *Diario de México*, no. 2510, August 17, 1812.
- Justa retribución al defensor de los encuerados, in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, nos. 139 and 140, May 19 and 20, 1814.
- Qualia dixeris, talia audies, in *Diario de México*, no. 2279, December 29, 1811. A reply to "E. L. B.", a friendly critic.
- Respuesta al número 2262, in *Diario de México*, no. 2267, December 17, 1811. A reply to "Mostaza", one of his hostile critics.
- Respuesta á los núm. 2220 y 2251 del Diario, in *Diario de México*, no. 2256, December 6, 1811. A reply to "J. M. L.", one of his hostile critics.
- In *El Sol*, no. 255, February 24, 1824. Lizardi's reply to Florentino Martínez, who had objected to the former's *El Hermano del Perico* (no. 5).
- In *ibid.*, no. 570, January 4, 1825. Article by El Pensador and "El Payo del Rosario" in regard to a crime that went unpunished.
- In *ibid.*, no. 589, January 23, 1825. The Pensador's reply to "El preguntón" in regard to blunders in the *Gaceta del Gobierno*, of which he, El Pensador, was then *redactor*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 577, January 11, 1825. The Pensador wishes subscribers for a 2d. edition of *El Periquillo Sarniento*; contains also the Pensador's own criticism of his masterpiece.
- In *ibid.*, no. 615, February 18, 1825. The Pensador answers "El amigo del preguntón" in regard to blunders in the *Gaceta del Gobierno*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 954, January 26, 1826. The Pensador praises Andrés Pautret, director of the ballet in the Coliseo.

II

NEW DETAILS CONCERNING KNOWN PAMPHLETS

Alacena de frioleras. 171 p. 4°.

According to Medina, *La Imprenta en México* (VIII. 44), this periodical consists of 27 numbers, the first bearing the date May 2, 1815, and the last January 19, 1816. No. 3 (May 6, 1815) is in the library of the University of Texas. In the reports of the censors, there is a letter (dated May 11, 1815) in regard to no. 6; another (May 31, 1815) in regard to an unspecified number; another (June 10, 1815) in regard to nos. 11 and 12; another (June 12, 1815) in regard to nos. 13 and 14; another (July 18, 1815) prohibiting an unspecified number. In the reports of the same body, nos. 22 and 23 are listed for November, 1815; nos. 24 and 25 for the following month; and nos. 26 and 27 for January, 1816.

Aunque la mona se vista de seda mona se queda. P. D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°.

No date. Appears in the report of the censors for March, 1812, as printed by Doña María F. de Jáuregui.

Auto Mariano para recordar la milagrosa Aparición de Nuestra Madre y Señora de Guadalupe. Dipuesto por D. J. F. de L. [1817?]. 28 p. 4°.

González Obregón lists the 1842 edition of this play. That given above, which is probably the first edition, is in the library of the University of Texas. A strip, which probably bore the imprint and date, at the bottom of the last page has been trimmed off. Also in the same library, in some bound papers entitled *Colección Guadalupeana* (II., no. 14), there is a manuscript copy of the play. On the last page is written: "En 30 de Sbte. de 1817 se acabo de copiar este quaderno, de las Religiosas del Combento de nuestra señora de Balbanera".

Aquí no faltan pastores que bailaron en Belén. P. D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°.

No date. Title is listed in the report of the censors for December, 1811, with Francisco Quintero as printer.

Las boleras de las monjas. P. D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°.

Dated 1811 or 1812 by González Obregón. The title appears in the report of the censors for January, 1812, with Doña María Frnz. de Jáuregui as printer.

Buenos es hacerse el tupé; pero no pelarse tanto. P. D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°.

Dated 1811 or 1812 by González Obregón. The title appears in the report of the censors for November, 1811, with Francisco Quintero as printer.

"J. M. L." criticizes the poem in *Diario de México*, no. 2271, December 21, 1811.

Caxoncito 1º. de la Alacena. En estos Caxoncitos guardo algunas frioleras curiosas porque no se pierdan, tales como el presente: Desafío solemne, provocación clara, y guerra eterna contra los periodistas chabacanos de Mexico. Imprenta de Doña María Fernández de Jáuregui. 58 p. 4°.

According to Medina, *La Imprenta en México* (VIII. 65), this periodical consists of 11 numbers, the second bearing the date August 15, 1815; the tenth, December 20, 1815; and the eleventh, April 4, 1816[?].

In the report of the censors, nos. 1 to 5 are listed for September, 1815; nos. 6 to 8, for October; and nos. 9 and 10 for December of the same year.

Chanzas y veras del Pensador. Diálogo entre el autor y un licenciado. Imprenta de doña María Fernández de Jáuregui. n.d. 8 p. 4°.

González Obregón questions 1813. This date, however, is correct, for the pamphlet is listed in the report of the censors for July, 1813.

Denuncia de los caballos, que faltan que presentar. P. D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°.

Probably written in 1812, for the title appears in the report of the censors for March of that year as printed by Doña María Fernández de Jáuregui.

Elogio a la memoria de las recomendables virtudes de don Nicolás del Puerto. El Pensador Mexicano. Imprenta de doña María Fernández de Jáuregui. n.d. 8 p. 4°.

González Obregón questions 1813, but that date is correct, for the pamphlet is listed in the report of the censors for July, 1813.

Al Glorioso Protomartir San Felipe de Jesús. 8 p. 8°.

The pamphlet bears no date, but is mentioned in the report of the censors for February, 1812, as printed by doña M. Fernández de Jáuregui.

La Muralla de México en la protección de María Santísima Nuestra Señora, agradecido recuerdo, que en favor de haber librado la misma Señora a esta capital de la irrupción, que sobre ella intentaron los enemigos ahora ha un año, escribió D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°. In verse.

Bears no date, but is mentioned in the report of the censors for October, 1811 with Francisco Quintero as printer.

Criticized by "J. M. L." in *Diario de México*, no. 2272, December 22, 1811. Ninguno diga quién es, que sus obras lo dirán. P. D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°.

Dated 1811 or 1812 by González Obregón; the latter is probably correct, for it was listed in the report of the censors for March of that year as printed by Doña María F. de Jáuregui.

No lo digo por V. lo digo por el Señor. P. D. J. F. de L. Oficina de doña María Fernández de Jáuregui. 8 p. 8°. In verse.

Dated 1811 or 1812 by González Obregón. The former date is probably correct, for the poem is mentioned by one of Lizardi's critics, "J. M. L.", in *Diario de México*, no. 2270, December 20, 1811.

Pero a mí que se me da, maldita de Dios la cosa. P. D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°. In verse.

Dated 1811 or 1812 by González Obregón. The former date is correct according to the report of the censors for December, 1811. Printed, states the same report, by Francisco Quintero.

El Perico y la Verdad, o Continuación de la Verdad pelada. P. D. J. F. de L. 8 p. 8°.

Dated 1811 or 1812 by González Obregón. The former date is correct, for the title appears in the report of the censors for October, 1811, with Francisco Quintero as printer.

"J. M. L." mentions the poem in *Diario de México*, no. 2270, December 20, 1811.

La Verdad pelada. Escribió D. J. F. de L. Imprenta de Jáuregui. 8 p. 8°.

Dated 1811 or 1812 by González Obregón. 1811 is probably correct, for the poem was criticized by "J. M. L." in *Diario de México*, no. 2270, December 20, 1811.

III

MATERIAL ON LIZARDI

1. CONTEMPORARY MATERIAL

a. Official documents

Actas del Congreso constituyente mexicano (Mexico, 1822), Tomo I, pp. 49, 51, 52, 54, 70, 113; (2d paging), p. 99; Tomo III, p. 5.

Baz, J. J., Papers.

Transcripts of documents entitled "Sacado del archivo del Sr. Lic. Don J. J. Baz, en poder de la Snrt. su hija". Contains documents in regard to the denunciation of Lizardi's *Si el gato saca las uñas . . .* by the ecclesiastical authorities (1822). UT

"La Constitución de 1812 en la Nueva España", tomo II. In *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación* (Mexico, 1913), Vol. V.

References to Lizardi are found in the following documents: "Voto consultivo del Real Acuerdo . . .", pp. 214-216; "Declaración de D. Manuel Lanzagorta . . .", pp. 216-217; "Párrafos de la representación . . .", pp. 217-246 (for reference to *El Pensador*, see p. 223); "Declaración referentes a los movimientos . . .", pp. 246-247.

"Correspondencia de los Guadalupe".

Manuscript copies in UT or originals in A. I., 136-F-9. For mention of Lizardi, see letters to Morelos from "Los Guadalupe" for the following dates: no. 107, December 7, 1812; no. 109, March 3, 1813; and a postscript (March 5) to the same letter; no. 122, December 31, 1813.

Documents collected by Genaro García bearing on the history of the printing press during the period of the Revolution, 1810 to 1821.

Typed transcript in UT. Location of originals not indicated. Corrections in hand of Genaro García. Contains, although incomplete, monthly lists of all material that was published from June 15, 1811 to August 6, 1816. Also contains official correspondence in regard to granting or refusing license to print.

Documentos históricos mexicanos (Mexico, 1910). Genaro García, editor.

Documents regarding the imprisonment and trial of Lizardi in 1812 and 1813 (see VI. 440-497).

[Documentos sobre la excomunión del Pensador mexicano, 1822.]

Typed transcript in UT. Location of originals not indicated. Corrections in hand of Genaro García. Contains in addition to other matter a letter, dated December 20, 1822, from the *provisor*, Felix Flores Alatorre, to various prelates in regard to posting on their churches the order for the excommunication of Fernández de Lizardi; also a copy of the notice, dated December 19, 1822, that was posted.

Documentos para la Historia de Mexico (Mexico, 1907). Genaro García, editor.

In a letter to Carlos M. Bustamante, dated March 13, 1813, José María Morelos acknowledged the receipt of the *Pensador's* publications (see XII. 21).

b. Contemporary Pamphlets

El Acicate (núm. 2; Mexico, Imprenta de D. Mariano Ontiveros, 1822). 11 p. Signed "El Licenciado Lanceta". In UT.

Advertencias a varias equivocaciones, que por lo respectivo á Guanajuato se leen en el número 13 del Conductor Eléctrico (Mexico, Imp. de Mariano Ontiveros, 1820). 8 p. (Medina, no. 11531). In AI.

Anotaciones hechas a los protestas del Pensador (Mexico, 1825[?]). Signed "El amante de la iglesia".

Mentioned by "El Payo del Rosario" [P. Villavicencio] in *Escarlatina furiosa del Monigote Valdés y el amante de la Iglesia* (Mexico, 1825), p. 4. Not seen.

Apuntes para la historia (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, calle de Santo Domingo, 1820). 12 p. Signed "N'". In UT.

Auto de Inquisición contra el suplemento del Pensador, del lunes 17 de enero de 1814, celebrado en una cafetería en forma de diálogo entre un arquitecto y un petimetre.

Announced for sale in *Diario de México*, January 30, 1814. Medina, no. 10, 898. Not seen.

Aza, José María: Cayó el pobre Pensador del partido liberal. [1825 or 1826].

This title and the following twelve, with the exception of one which is indicated, are mentioned in *El Sol*, no. 1090, June 8, 1826. None of them have been seen.

— Defensa hecha al Payo del Rosario contra su compatriota el Pensador mexicano.

— Cedió el Pensador al fin la victoria al gachupín.

— Chamorro y Dominquín.

— Contrarresta el gachupín al Pensador hablátin.

— Destierro del Pensador y de su escudero Aza.

— Horrosos atentados del Pensador mexicano contra el clero de Guatamala.

— Hoy se le aparece un muerto al Pensador Mexicano. Defensa de José María de Aza en el jurado (Mexico, Imp. de la Aguila, dirigida por José Ximeno, 1825). 19 p. In UT.

— El patriotismo sin máscara del famoso Pensador.

— El Pez por la boca muere.

— Se descubre las maldades del Pensador mexicano.

— Se le quedó al gachupín la lavativa en el cuerpo.

— Ultraje del Pensador a los antiguos patriotas.

La Batalla de D. Guadalupe Victoria con las tropas de Veraacruz (Mexico, Oficina de D. José María Palomera, 1822). 4 p. In my possession.

Bernal, José María: Ultrajes de impiedad al que está en el sacramento.

The publication of this pamphlet, which was hostile to Lizardi's *La heregia justificada y desengaño de viejas*, was announced in *La Mosca Parlera*, no. 3, June 14, 1823.

Bustamante, C. M.: Séptimo Juguetillo, dedicado al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Imp. de Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 44 p. In UT.

Bringas y Encinas, Diego de: Sermón político-moral (Mexico, Imp. de D. Juan Bautista de Arizpe, 1813). 44 p. In UT.

See reference to *El Pensador*, pp. 13-14.

Un bofetón sin mano al Payo Preguntón (Mexico, Oficina de Don Alejandro Valdés, calle de Santo Domingo, 1820). 8 p. Signed "F. M. S." [Fray Mariano Soto]. In UT.

- Un busca-piés. Carta al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Imp. de D. A. Valdés, 1820). In BN.
- El Campanero á su compadre el Pensador Mejicano (Mexico, En la imprenta de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 4 p. (Medina, no. 11636.) In BN.
- Carta al Pensador Megicano (Puebla, Oficina del Gobierno, 1820). 6 p. (Medina, *La Imp. en Puebla*, no. 1723). Signed "J. N. T."
- Carta al Pensador Mexicano, del cuidoadano amante del bien público, interesado ahora por Guanajuato (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). 8 p. Signed "J. T. I." In UT.
- Carta de D. Agustín de Iturbide al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Impresa en la oficina de D. José María Betancourt, calle de San José el Real, num. 2, 1821). 3 p. Unsigned. In UT.
- Carta del charlatán al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Impreso en la oficina de D. Juan Bautista de Arizpe, 1820). 7 p. (Medina, no. 11559.) In AI.
- Cascabeles al Gato (Mexico, Imp. de D. Mariano Ontiveros, 1822). 8 p. Signed "El Papista". In UT.
- Caso original sucedido en esta capital, o sean Observaciones importantes y consulta al público (Mexico, Imp. de D. Mariano Ontiveros, 1820). 7 p. Signed "J. M. D. M." In UT.
- Censura de un ciudadano (Mexico, En la imprenta de Arizpe, 1820). 4 p. Signed "El Ciudadano". In UT.
- La Chanfaina sequita. Carta al Pensador Mejicano. Primera y segunda parte (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). Primera parte, 8 p. Segunda parte, 8 p. Signed "El Irónico". In UT.
- La Ciudadana al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Imp. de D. A. Valdés, 1820). In BN.
- Consejos al Pensador (Mexico, Imp. de Jáuregui, 1813). 4 p. Signed "El conocedor de los hombres". In UT.
- Cuestiones del Filósofo Liberal al Pensador Mejicano (Mexico, Oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, calle de Santo Domingo esquina de Tacuba, 1821). 12 p. (Medina, no. 11983.) In AI.
- El Colegial al Pensador sobre Elecciones de electores (Mexico, Oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, calle de Santo Domingo, 1820). 4 p. Signed "L. J. M. Y." In UT.
- La Cómica Constitucional al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Juan Bautista de Arizpe, 1820). 4 p. Signed "J. M. M." In UT.
- Dávila, Rafael: Carta del Rey Español (Mexico, Oficina de D. José María Ramos Palomera, 1822). 4 p. In UT.
- Dávila, Rafael. Justo Castigo y Destierro del Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Oficina de D. José María Palomera, 1822). 4 p. In UT.
- Defensa del Pensador (Mexico, Imp. de Ontiveros, 1820). (Medina, no. 11607.) In AI.
- Diálogo sobre el Pensador Mexicano de 24 de febrero de 1814 entre D. Justo, D. Cándido, y D. Yucundo (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Mariano Ontiveros, 1814). 8 p. In my possession.

Granizaso [*sic*] sobre el Pensador mexicano.

Four sonnets against Lizardi; reprinted with notes and comments in *El Payo y el Sacristán*, no. 21 (1825).

Gritos de la hamanidad afligida (Mexico, En la oficina de Don Alejandro Valdés, September 30, 1820). 8 p. Signed "El verdadero Patriota". In UT.

González, Fernando Demetrio: Segunda parte del Campanero a su compadre El Pensador Mexicano con respecto á su Repique Brusco (Mexico, Oficina de Doña María Betancourt, 1820). 19 p. In UT.

Guerra a todo militar oficinista ó sean mis desvelos dedicados al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Oficina de D. J. M. Benavente y Socios, February 9, 1821). 8 p. Signed "El Reparón". (Medina, no. 12008.) In AI.

Impugnación y defensa del folleto titulado: Un bosquejo de los fraudes & por el Pensador Mexicano. O sea prospecto de una obrita que trato dar a luz con este título (Mexico, Oficina de D. J. M. Benavente, 1821). 8 p. (Medina, no. 12012.) In AI.

El Irónico Hablador. Conversación de un fuereño con el Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Oficina de D. J. M. Benaventer, 1820). 7 p. Signed "F. V." In UT.

Josches de la Loza, Mariano: Un busca piés. Carta al Pensador Mejicano (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). 11 p. (Medina, no. 11906.) In AI.

Judía y contra judía. El Pensador Mejicano es todo contradicción (Mexico, Oficina de los ciudadanos militares D. Joaquín y D. Bernardo de Miramón, calle de Jesús, núm. 16, 1820). 4 p. Signed "A-la-mi-ra". Medina, no. 11687.) In AI.

Juguetes contra el Juguetillo (Mexico, Imp. de Doña María Fernández Jáuregui, 1812). 16 p. Signed "Una censora americana". Defends the Pensador. In UT.

Lerdo, Ignacio María: Exposición del Doctor Lerdo contra las Observaciones del Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Oficina del ciudadano Alejandro Valdés, 1826). 110 p. In UT.

El moledor constitucional al Pensador Mexicano (Puebla, Imprenta del Gobierno, 1820). In BN.

Muerte del Pensador y Noticia histórica de su vida (Mexico, Imp. de la Ex-Inquisición, a cargo de Manuel Ximeno, 1827). Signed "A. F. A." and dated June 24, 1827.

La muger constitucional o quejas de ésta al Pensador Mejicano (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). 4 p. In UT.

La mujer Constitucional al Pensador (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 8 p. In UT.

No rebuznaron en balde el uno y el otro alcalde (Mexico, Oficina de D. J. M. Benavente, 1820). 8 p. Signed "Fefant el Argelino". In UT.

No son Suenos los del Pensador (Mexico, Impresa en la oficina de Doña Herculana del Villar y Socios, 1822). 16 p. Signed "F." In UT.

Observaciones sobre la Excomunión del Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Imprenta (contra el despotismo) de D. J. M. Benavente y Socios, 1822). 4 p. In UT.

Palos al Pensador Mexicano ó Reflexiones sobre el Pensamiento extraordinario del 26 de enero de 1814 (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Mariano Ontiveros, 1814). 7 p. Signed "Nugagá". In UT.

Piénsalo bien (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 8 p. Signed "N". In UT.

Por más que hable el Pensador, no hemos de ser tolerantes; sino cristianos como antes (Mexico, Imp. del ciudadano Alejandro Valdés, 1825). 8 p. Signed "El Inválido". In UT.

El Practicante de San Andrés al Pensador Mejicano (Mexico, Oficina de D. Manuel Sala, calle de S. Francisco, 1820). 4 p. (Medina, no. 11660). In AI.

Pregunta al Pensador sobre bagajes y coches de providencia (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). In BN.

Preguntas sueltas (Mexico, Oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 4 p. Signed "Juan Lanas". In UT.

Primera pregunta al Pensador, sobre pasaportes y caballos (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). 4 p. Signed "El hijo de la Constitución". In UT.

Primera carta del severo censor al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Imprenta de Arizpe, 1820). In BN.

Profecía sobre la venida de un nuevo Herodes (Mexico, Imp. de D. Mariano Ontiveros, 1822). 7 p. Signed "E. P. D. R." In UT.

El Público no es juguete, Señor Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). 4 p. Signed "El Observador J. V." In UT.

Reflexiones sobre el diálogo de los morenos comunicado en el Conductor Eléctrico Número 23 (Oaxaca, 1820).

Cited by Genaro García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos* (Mexico, 1910), IV. x.

Respuesta de otro Pensador Mejicano: Sobre Bagajes y Coches de providencia (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 4 p. Signed "El Intruso". (Medina, no. 11808.) In AI.

Sal y pimienta a la chanfaina (Mexico, Imprenta de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 8 p. Signed "N". In UT.

Sátiras al Pensador por su obra del Conductor (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 4 p. (Medina, no. 11817.) In BM, no. 3133.

Segunda pregunta del Hijo de la Constitución al Pensador Mejicano. Sobre el impuesto del peaje o pillaje, como lo llama el pueblo (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). 6 p. Signed "El hijo de la constitución". In UT.

Se pide excomunión contra el Pensador (1824?).

Lizardi mentions in *El Payo y el Sacristán*, no. 23, 1824, that Buenaventura Agüero, Silvestre Dondé, Mariano Monterde, and Francisco Andrade were the authors of it. He replied to the pamphlet in *El Payo y Sacristán*, no. 23, 1824. Soto, Mariano. El carácter del Pensador Mexicano descubierto y desafiado (Mexico, Imprenta de J. M. Benavente y socios, 1820). In BN.

Incitativa del Padre Soto al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Oficina de D. J. María Benavente y socios, 1820). 4 p. (Medina, 11951.) In AI.

- Núm. 1. Descubierto el carácter de la pluma impía, blasfema y antimilitar del Pensador Mexicano en su papel, "La Palinodia en respuesta al Padre Soto" . . . (Mexico, 1820). 8 p. (Medina, no. 11949.) In BM, no. 3105, AI, BN.
- La palinodia de J. F. L., periodista eléctrico (Mexico, Imprenta de CC. militares D. Joaquín y D. Bernardo de Miramón, 1820). In BN.
- Respuesta del Padre Soto al Pensador Mejicano, sobre la verdadera prisión y trabajos del P. Lequerica (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). 12 p. (Medina, no. 11951.) In BN.
- Verdadera prisión y trabajos del Padre Lequerica (Mexico, 1820). 4 p. (Medina, no. 11950.) In AI.
- También al Berdugo azotan (Mexico, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820). 4 p. Signed "El Chirrión". In UT.
- El Teólogo Imparcial. Respuesta del autor del Duelo de la Inquisición, al Pensador mejicano, en su papel del Conductor Eléctrico num. 15 (Mexico, En la oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820). 12 p. (Medina, no. 11665.) In BN.
- Todos pensamos, ó carta de un pensador tapatío, al Pensador Mexicano (Guadalajara, Imp. de Da. Petra Manjarrés, 1820). In BN.
- [Torres Palacios, José Gregorio de]: Al que le venga el saco que se lo ponga. Carta al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Oficina de Don José María Betancourt, 1820). 6 p. In UT.
- Valdés, José María. Entrada triunfante en el infierno del Pensador mexicano (Mexico, [1825?]).
- Mentioned by El Payo del Rosario [Pablo Villavicencio], *Escarlatina furiosa del Monigote Valdés y el amante de la iglesia* (Mexico, 1825).
- Villavicencio, Pablo. En Mixcalco y en mi casa he de hablar del mismo modo, O sean Respuestas del Payo del Rosario al Pensador Mexicano . . . Mexico, January 28, 1825. In UT.
- Villavicencio, Pablo [El Payo de Rosario] *Escarlatina furiosa del Monigote Valdés y el amante de la Iglesia* (Mexico, Oficina de D. Mariano Ontiveros, 1825). 12 p. In UT.
- Ya el Pensador Mexicano se declaró por herege (Mexico, Imprenta de Doña Herculana del Villar y socios, 1822). 8 p. Signed "P. V." and dated April 21, 1822. In UT.
- Ya el Sol no alumbrá con toda su luz, ó Carta dirigida al Pensador Mexicano (Mexico, Imp. de Doña Herculana del Villar y socios, 1822). 8 p. In UT.
- Las zorras de Sansón desolladas (Mexico, Imp. de D. Mariano de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1820). 8 p. Signed "J. A. S. B." In UT.

c. Newspaper Articles

- In *Aguila Mexicana*, nos. 76, 77, June 28 and 29, 1823. A correspondent condemns Lizardi's denunciation of the clergy. Signed, "El amigo de la Paz".
- In *ibid.*, no. 331, March 11, 1825. "Un presbítero zacatecano" disagrees with Lizardi in regard to the latter's denunciation of the clergy.
- In *ibid.*, no. 347, March 27, 1825. "El Clérigo" criticizes the stand taken by Lizardi in regard to the Bishop of Sonora.

- In *ibid.*, no. 2, April 16, 1825. "La Curiosa" opposes the Pensador's views in regard to religious freedom.
- In *ibid.*, nos. 21 and 22, May 5 and 6, 1825. "Otro Clérigo" defends Lizardi's statements in regard to the Bishop of Sonora.
- In *ibid.*, no. 93, July 16, 1825. "I. W." criticizes the Pensador for opposing the plan of sending military aid to Cuba.
- In *ibid.*, no. 195, October 27, 1825. "C. O. y C." comments on the Pensador's *Dentro de seis meses ó antes, hemos de ser tolerantes*.
- A la palinodia del Pensador, signed "El Pobre, Roto, Plebeyo, Ordinario", in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, no. 144, May 24, 1814.
- Aplaudo el merito y la virtud donde la encuentro. Signed "E. L. B.", in *Diario de Mexico*, no. 2266, December 16, 1811.
- Al Pensador Mexicano. Signed "Gil Polo de las Brazas". In *La Abispa de Chalpancingo*, June 26, 1822 (no. 23). Commends the Pensador's *Segundo Sueño*.
- Aviso caritativo. Signed "El Huasteco". In *Noticioso General*, no. 35, March 21, 1821.
- Becerra, José M. Luciano: Dos palabras al Pensador Mexicano, in *Aguila Mexicana*, no. 253, December 23, 1823. Replies to Lizardi's *El Hermano de Perico* (no. 6).
- Bustamante states that the deputy Becerra was opposed to the Acta constitutiva (*Diario Histórico de Mexico*, Zacatecas, 1896, p. 637).
- Bustamante, C. M.: *Juguétillo*, no. 1, 1812. The editor, Bustamante, welcomes the appearance of *El Pensador Mexicano*.
- Caso de conciencia, in *El Sol*, no. 36, April 6, 1822. Article signed "J. N. T." in regard to Lizardi's *Defensa de los francmasones*.
- Carta al Pensador, in *El Sol*, no. 1213, October 9, 1826. "Mata pulgas" ridicules and abuses the Pensador and "el Payo del Rosario".
- Castillo, Andrés del: in *Aguila Mexicana* (no. 330, March 10, 1825) denies responsibility for the rejection of the Pensador's drama, *El Negro Sensible*.
- La cocinera y la galopina, in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, no. 108, April 18, 1814. A fable in verse, signed Patricio Vera, ridiculing Lizardi.
- Contestación al Sr. D. J. F. de L., in *Diario de México*, no. 2514, August 21, 1812. Signed "D".
- In *Correo Americano del Sur*, no. 5, March 25, and no. 20, July 8, 1813, (reprinted in *Documentos historicos mexicanos*, IV. 38, 154); refers to Lizardi's imprisonment in 1813.
- Desengaño al Pensador, in *Noticioso General*, no. 45, April 13, 1821. Signed "El Huasteco".
- Diálogo sobre el Pensador mexicano número 17, del jueves 23 de diciembre de 1813, entre un arquitecto y un petimetre, pasado en una cafetería, in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, nos. 11, 12, 13, January 11, 12, 13, 1814. Signed "Quidam".
- Los dos muchachos, in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, no. 65, March 5, 1814. A fable in verse, signed Patricio Vera, ridiculing Lizardi.

- In *Gaceta del Gobierno Imperial de Mexico*, no. 38 (Extraordinario), December 13, 1821. Iturbide in a letter to the regency complains of the abuse of the freedom of the press by certain writers. Cites the *Cincuenta preguntas del Pensador*.
- Garrotazo al Pensador, by "El Mexicano" in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, no. 51, February 20, 1814.
- In *Ilustrador Americano*, no. 36, April 17, 1813 (reprinted in *Documentos históricos Mexicanos*, Mexico, 1910, III. 121). Commends Lizardi for his liberal views.
- Justo tributo al Pensador, signed "P. R. P. O.", in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, no. 127, May 7, 1814.
- [Lacunza, Juan María] J. M. L.: Criticisms of Lizardi's verses in *Diario de México*, nos. 2270-1-2, December 20, 21, 22, 1811.
- Criticisms of Lizardi's poetry, in *Diario de México*, nos. 2302-3-4, January 22, 23, 24, 1812.
- Palo de ciego, in *Diario de Mexico*, no. 2220, October 31, 1811. Ridicules Lizardi's verses.
- [Lacunza, Juan María] Batilo: El piojo y las hormigas (a fable in verse, ridiculing Lizardi as a pamphleteer poet), in *Diario de México*, no. 2311, January 31, 1812.
- [Lacunza, Juan María] J. M. L.: Respuesta á D. A. O., in *Diario de México*, no. 2251, December 1, 1811. Ridicules Lizardi's verse.
- Martínez, Florentino: Article in regard to Lizardi's *El hermano de Perico* (no. 5), in *El Sol*, no. 190.
- Article criticizing Lizardi as a pamphleteer, in *El Sol*, no. 258, February 27, 1824.
- In *Noticioso General*, December 18, 1818. Criticism of *El Periquillo Sarniento*, signed "El Tocayo de Clarita".
- In *Noticioso General*, February 1, 1819. Criticism of *El Periquillo Sarniento*, signed "Uno de Tantos" [Manuel Terán].
- In *Noticioso General*, supplement of no. 751. Article signed "El Observador". El perico hablador y el gavilán, signed by Patricio Vera, in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, no. 63, March 4, 1814. A fable in verse ridiculing Lizardi.
- [Rodríguez del Castillo, J. M. ?] Mostaza: Vaya ese latigazo, in *Diario de México*, no. 2262, December 12, 1811. Ridicules Lizardi's *La verdad pelada*.
- Segunda parte del diálogo entre el arquitecto y el petimetre contra el pensador número 18, in *Diario de México*, segunda serie, nos. 18, 19, 20, January 18, 19, 20, 1814.
- In *El Sol*, September 29, 1824. An article unfriendly to Lizardi; mentioned by the Pensador in *El Payo y el Sacristán*, no. 11, 1824.
- In *ibid.*, no. 577, January 11, 1825. "El preguntón" complains that the *Gaceta del Gobierno*, of which Lizardi was redactor, is filled with blunders.
- In *ibid.*, no. 602, February 5, 1825. "El amigo del preguntón" complains of blunders in the *Gaceta del Gobierno*, of which Lizardi was redactor.
- [Villavicencio, Pablo] El Payo del Rosario: Contestación a la carta dirigida al Pensador. A reply to "Mata pulgas" in defense of the Pensador and of himself, in *El Sol*, no. 1216, October 12, 1826.

d. *Announcements*

- In *Aguila Mexicana*, January 8, 1823. Published documents relating to Lizardi's reconciliation with the church authorities.
- In *ibid.*, no. 173, June 22, 1827. Lizardi's death notice.
- In *Gaceta del Gobierno de México*, no. 298, October 8, 1812. States that *El Pensador Mexicano* will soon appear.
- In *ibid.*, no. 319, November 17, 1812. Announces the publication of Lizardi's *La visita a la Condesa de la Unión*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 299, October 10, 1812. Announces the appearance of the first number of *El Pensador Mexicano*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 528, February 17, 1814. Announces the publication of *Palos al Pensador*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 535, March 5, 1814. Announces the publication of *Diálogo contra el Pensador*, núm. 6.
- In *ibid.*, no. 649, November 1, 1814. Announces publication of Lizardi's *Causas formadas a la muerte y al diablo por la verdad*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 890, April 18, 1816. Announces that second volume of *El Periquillo Sarniento* will appear soon.
- In *ibid.*, no. 1295, July 23, 1818. Announces the prospectus of *La Quijotita y su Prima*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 1332, October 18, 1818. Announces the publication of *Calendario y pronóstico del Pensador mexicano*, and "los dos primeros pliegos" of *La Quijotita y su Prima*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 39, March 27, 1819. Announces the publication of Lizardi's *El voto de México en la muerte de la Reyna nuestra señora*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 136, October 12, 1819. Announces the publication of the second volume of both *Ratos entretenidos* and *La Quijotita y su prima*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 148, November 4, 1820. The circulation prohibited of a pamphlet printed in Puebla, *Carta al Pensador*, which is adjudged false and injurious.
- In *ibid.*, no. 177, December 30, 1820. Fr. Mariano Soto's pamphlet, *El carácter del Pensador descubierto y desafiado*, decreed injurious to Lizardi; its circulation prohibited.
- In *ibid.*, no. 34, March 15, 1821. Lizardi's pamphlet, *Contestación del Pensador a la carta que se dice dirigida á el por el coronel D. Agustín de Iturbide*, decreed seditious; and its circulation prohibited.
- In *Gaceta del Gobierno Imperial de México*, no. 148, December 24, 1822. The edict excommunicating the *Pensador* again published by the canon Felix Flores Alatorre.
- In *Gaceta diaria de México*, no. 10, January 10, 1826. Announcement in regard to the *Observaciones* which the *Pensador* made in reply to Lerdo and Grageda.
- In *Noticioso General*, no. 171, February 10, 1817. Announces the publication of *El Anuncio de la paz*, by *El Pensador Mexicano*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 276, October 8, 1817. Announces the publication of *Fábulas del Pensador*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 1, January 1, 1821. Fr. Mariano Soto's pamphlet, *El Carácter del Pensador mexicano descubierto y desafiado*, decreed injurious to Lizardi's reputation.

- In *ibid.*, no. 33, March 16, 1821. Lizardi's *Contestación del Pensador a la carta que se dice dirigida a él por el coronel D. Agustín de Iturbide* declared seditious.
- In *Semanario político y literario*, no. 1, July 12, 1820. Commends the *Pensador's Conductor Eléctrico* and his reply to "El Fernandino constitucional". (p. 21).
- In *ibid.*, Vol. 1, no. 3, July 26, 1820. A reference to *Chanfaina se quita ó Carta al Pensador* (p. 69).
- In *El Sol*, no. 1010, March 21, 1826. Ignacio María Lerdo announces his reply to the *Pensador's Observaciones*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 501, October 27, 1824. The editor states that the supplement for October 23, 1824, would refute the *Pensador's* arguments in *Disputa de los Congresos*.
- In *ibid.*, no. 1090, June 8, 1826. A decree of the court absolving José María Aza; contains, too, a list of the pamphlets that Aza had written against Lizardi.
- In *ibid.*, no. 1479, June 24, 1827. Notice of Lizardi's death.

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J. R. SPELL.

University of Texas.

NOTES

Interest in Spanish America from the linguistic side has already been manifested by the publication of various text-books, including readers, collections of short stories, etc., directed toward affording students some knowledge of the physical and economic environment and of the manners and customs of the southern republics. The Spanish-American series recently begun by D. C. Heath & Company constitutes an important addition to this literature. The volumes appearing in this series are, moreover, not only of interest to the teacher of the language and literature but also to the student of history. For one of the marked characteristics of Spanish-American literature is its political objectivity. The following volumes have been published: 1. Altamirano's *La navidad en las montañas*; 2. Isaac's *María*; 3. Blest Gana's *Martín Rivas*; 4. Mármol's *Amalia*. These represent the literatures of four countries, Mexico, Colombia, Chile, and Argentina. In the case of the longer novels the texts are greatly abridged, but this ungrateful task is skilfully done. In fact, the editorial work, including introductions, notes and vocabularies, is excellent. The same may be said of the printing and binding. In this connection we should note also from the press of Macmillan and Company *La casa de los cuervos* by Hugo Wast. This is the first contemporary Spanish-American novel to be edited for the schools and colleges of the United States. Hugo Wast, or, to use his proper name, Gustavo Martínez Zuviría, of Argentina is probably the most widely read novelist of Spanish America—and one of the most productive. Dr. Hespelt, the editor, in introducing Wast to students in this country has chosen one of the author's most popular works, a tragic story of revolutionary activities in the province of Santa Fe about the year 1877. The text is carefully abridged, and the introduction, bibliography, and notes are well done. From abroad come the following interesting works: Silva Uzcátegui's *Historia crítica del modernismo en la literatura castellana* (Barcelona, 1925), an examination of the modernist movement from the point of view of Nordau's theory of degeneration. Ernesto Morales's *El sentimiento popular en la literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1925). E. F. Tiscornia's *Martín Fierro comentado y anotado*.

Tomo 1. Texto, notas y vocabulario (Buenos Aires, 1925), a splendid work and the first critical edition of the famous Gaucho poem of José Hernández. Angélica Palma's *Uno de tantos* (Madrid, 1926), a new novel by this talented daughter of a distinguished father, Ricardo Palma, which will probably equal or exceed in popularity her *Coloniaje romántico*, the work awarded the Premio del Concurso internacional de Buenos Aires in 1921. The present work is an interesting picture of certain aspects of political and social life in Lima and an effective and dramatic illustration of the abiding power of love of country. Enrique Larreta's *Zogoibi* (Buenos Aires, 1926); this novel by the author of the well known *La gloria de don Ramiro* has Buenos Aires as its scene of action. Güiraldes's *Don Segundo Sombra* (Buenos Aires, 1926); this novel, autobiographical in form, has been called an authentic and genuine picture of life on the Argentina pampa. As such it suggests a comparison with the work of Benito Lynch. Germán Arciniegas, director of the Editorial Minerva of Bogotá, is issuing the Ediciones Colombia, including among others the following interesting works: *Cuentos de autores colombianos*; *El Zarco* and *Rogelio*, novels by Tomás Carrasquilla; *El tonel de Diógenes* by E. Restrepo; *Poemas de las mujeres de América*, *Literatura colombiana* by A. Gómez Restrepo.—C. K. JONES.

The Library of Congress has received from the Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares of Buenos Aires, Argentina, a large collection of the books of Argentina. The work of the Comisión, a remarkable body, has already been mentioned in this REVIEW. For several years the Comisión has been sending representative books published in Argentina to various libraries and collections or other agencies in the United States and other countries. Some of these books have become known in this country only through such gifts. Among the books sent to the Library of Congress, distinctive works of representative authors are found, including several of the latest and most successful novels. The following titles will illustrate: Morales, *Antología de poetas modernos*; Méndez, *Vida, cantos de amor*; Oyuela, *Nuevos cantos*; Obligado, *El canto perdido*; Roldán, *Poesías completas*, *La Venus del arrabal*, and *La senda encantada*; Ascasubi, *Santos Vega*; Barriego, *Misas herejes*. Of Ricardo Rojas, the distinguished historian of Argentine literature, there are *Eurindia*, *Discursos*, and *Los arquetipos*. The following novels are notable and indispensable in studying

the development of this *genre* in Argentina: César Duayén (pseudonym of Emma de la Barra), *Mecha Iturbe*; Cambaceres, *Sin rumbo*, and *Silbidos de un vago*; Gálvez, *El cántico espiritual*, and *Luna de miel*; Wast, *Desierto de piedra*; Benito Lynch, *Caranchos de la Florida*, and *Raquela*; Chiaporri, *Borderland*; Larreta, *Zogobi*; Güiráldez, *Don Segundo Sombra*. The following works of Leopoldo Lugones, poet, essayist and critic, are also included: *La guerra gaucha*, *El ejército de la Iliada*, *Crepúsculos del jardín*, and *El libro de los paisajes*. There are also interesting and valuable works by Arrieta, Bernárdez, Capdevila, Cané, Campo, Eizaguirre, Farina Núñez, Figueroa, González, Gallardo, Lobos, Melo, Posadas, Palleja, Saldías, Sáenz Hayes, Tobal Ugarte and Urién. This is a well balanced representative collection, an excellent expression of Argentine intellectual activities, which must, as a section of the national library, effectively aid "in developing in the United States an acquaintance with Argentine thought and in strengthening the spiritual relations that should exist between the countries of America". This quotation from the letter of Dr. Miguel F. Rodríguez, president of the Comisión is a fine expression of the objectives of the body over which he presides.—C. K. JONES.

The publication of the *Revista de Bibliografía Chilena*, suspended in 1918, has been resumed owing to the efforts of Señor Eduardo Barrios, director of the National Library of Chile. This valuable review is now being issued as a quarterly, the first number covering the first quarter of the current year. It is under the editorial direction of Señor Emilio Vaisse and in arrangement is similar to the earlier issues. The principal sections are: 1. Books; 2. Reviews; 3. Dailies; 4. Chronology; 5. Chilean iconography; 6. Chile in foreign countries; 7. Special bibliographies. If the necessary appropriations can be procured, the period from 1918 to 1927 will be covered and the *Diccionario de Bibliografía Chilena* will be continued. The first volume of this excellent work containing the letters of Abalos to Barros Arana, was published in 1915 and some pages of the second volume appeared in the *Revista*. The consummation of these projects will give Chile the most complete bibliographical repertory in Spanish America.—C. K. JONES.

Two more volumes of the admirable series "Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas" have quite recently been published. The first

(No. 8), *Bibliografía del Petroleo en México*, was compiled in the Petroleum Department of the Secretariat of Industry, Commerce, and Labor of Mexico. This useful book, which was compiled because "there is in Mexico no industry more important than that of petroleum", is not confined to citation of titles in Spanish. The majority of the titles are from periodicals and magazines, although there are many reports and some books. The second work is *Catálogo de la Colección de Manuscritos relativos a la Historia de América formado por Joaquín García Icazbalceta*. But García Icazbalceta's list has been annotated and enlarged by the editor, Federico Gómez de Orozco, with excellent results. In his preface to the *Catálogo*, the editor says that it had not only been unpublished until now, but almost unknown. It was not even listed in any of the editions of the bibliography of García Icazbalceta, nor did the latter allude to it in any of his writings. A copy was given by García Icazbalceta to Dr. Nicolás León, the founder and publisher of *Anales del Museo Michoacano*, in order that the latter might make selections therefrom for publication in the *Anales*. In 1924, Gómez Orozco initiated a section of appendices to the *Boletín del Museo Nacional* which he was then editing. Dr. León sent him his copy of the "Catálogo" for possible inclusion in the *Boletín*, but it was not published therein as Gómez Orozco soon thereafter left his post in the Museum. With the inauguration of the present series of bibliographical monographs, he obtained Dr. León's permission to edit it. In addition to the "Catálogo" itself (pp. 1-85), there are added: "Manuscritos en Lenguas Indígenas" (pp. 86-87); Notes by Gómez de Orozco (pp. 91-217), which are excellent and present many bibliographical data; "Discurso preliminar a la Historia antigua de México", by Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veitia (pp. 221-256); notice of the manuscript work of Diego de Panes (pp. 259-267); "Instrucción y Memoria de las Relaciones que se han de hazer. Para la Descripción de las Yndias, que su Magestad manda hazer, para el buen Gobierno y Ennoblecimiento dellas" (pp. 271-281); note on the historical collection ordered to be made by Viceroy Revillagigedo (pp. 285-287). Of the manuscript "Catálogo", there were several copies, two being known besides the one here published, namely, one belonging to José María Agreda, but now in the García Collection of the University of Texas; and the other belonging to Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, in Spain. The series is being pub-

lished under the auspices of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, its general editor being Dr. Genaro Estrada. Other volumes in this series are the *Bibliografía de Novelistas Mexicanos* (No. 3, 1926), compiled by Juan B. Iguiniz; *Bibliografía de Cronistas de la Ciudad de México* (No. 4, 1926), compiled by Manuel Romero e Terreros; *Filigranas o Marcas transparentes en Papeles de Nueva España del Siglo XVI* (No. 5, 1926), compiled by Ramón Mena; and *Bibliografía de Sinaloa* (No. 6, 1926), compiled by José G. Heredia.

The Academia de la Historia of Cuba issued in October, 1926, the following essays in one volume: "La Vida de la Academia de la Historia (1925-1926)", a memorial read by the secretary of the Academy, Dr. Juan Miguel Dihigo y Mestre (pp. 5-47); "Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín", an eulogy read by Dr. Salvador Salazar y Roig (pp. 49-66); "Carlos de Villanueva", an eulogy read by Licenciado Francisco de P. Coronado (pp. 67-77); and "Emilio Bacardí y Moreau", an address read by Dr. Tomás Jústiz y del Valle (pp. 79-111).

The Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, which is located at Rua Augusto Severo, 4-26, Rio de Janeiro, states in a recent communication:

With the object of increasing, so far as possible, the mutual knowledge of the American peoples, with regard to the history, geography, ethnography, and archeology of the new continent, the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro (the oldest association of its kind in South America) resolved to publish in its review (consisting of 93 volumes in 147 parts, besides 20 special volumes) a bibliographical summary relative to the above mentioned matters, beginning with the independence of each American country, mentioning therein the name of the author, the title of the work, the publisher, and date, in order to form a storehouse of American historical bibliography.

The Instituto, in accordance with this plan, requests aid in collecting the data desired. Much of it, of course, can be found in the *Cumulative Book Index* (a monthly publication), *Publishers Weekly* and the government publication of Copyright entries, and other current publications. It is suggested that authors of books of the types mentioned above send the data to the Instituto. The plan is an excellent one and the Instituto should receive hearty coöperation. This body was founded in 1838. By action of March 6, 1926, its membership was fixed as follows: members through special merit, 5;

through merit, 15; active, 40; corresponding, 40; and honorary, 30. Between October, 1838 and October, 1926, the Instituto held 1,521 sessions. It possesses an excellent library of 80,000 volumes, an archive of over 40,000 documents, a museum containing among other things, death masks of notable Brazilians, portraits, landscapes and other paintings, and medals, and a collection of some 4,000 maps. The present president (for life) is Dr. Affonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo (Conde de Affonso Celso) and the perpetual secretary, Dr. Max Fleiuss. Among the members and officers have been many of the most noted Brazilians. The twenty special volumes issued by the Instituto are as follows:

Chile-Brazil. 1 vol.

Homenagem a D. Pedro II. 1 vol.

Homenagem a Christovam Colombo. 1 vol.

Homenagem á memoria de D. Pedro II. 1 vol.

Quarto centenario de Descobrimento da America. 1 vol.

Centenario da Imprensa no Brasil. 2 vols.

Primeiro Congresso de Historia do Brasil. 5 vols.

O Anno da Independencia. 1 vol.

Congresso Internacional de Historia da America. 2 vols.

Contribuições para a biographia de D. Pedro II. 1 vol.

Trasladação dos restos mortaes dos ex-imperadores. 1 vol.

Nobiliarchia Paulistana, Historica e Genealogia. 1 vol.

Diccionario Historico, Geographico e Ethnographico do Brasil, of which 2 vols. have appeared.

Camino de Gloria (Caracas, Tipografia Americana, 1925), by F. Jiménez Arraiz, has five sections of nineteen chapters in all. The five parts are respectively Prolegomenos, Hacia la tierra del Inca, Bajo el sol del Perú, Entre las cumbres, and Apendice. In the first section are the following chapters: El ideal; En el sur de Colombia; El hombre de la libertad; Despues de Pichincha; San Martín y el Perú; Guayaquil—La entrevista. In the second: Preliminares; and La Tragedia del sur. In the third: En plena borrasca; Fiebre anárquica; Fragua de Volcán; and En la cima del volcán. In the fourth: Hacia el enemigo; Junín; Hacia el Apurimac; Corpahuaico; Ayacucho; Eclósión de laureles; and Las banderas de la libertad. The "Apendice" contains a despatch from Espinar to Sucre; letters from "El Libertador" to San Martín and Sucre respectively; " 'Recuerdos' de Francisco Bourdett O'Connor"; Official report of the battle of Ayacucho; "La capitulación" (from *El Comercio*, Lima, December

9, 1924); and "Memorial de la Campaña del Sur". There are good portraits of "El Libertador" y "El gran Mariscal de Ayacucho", and maps of Junín and Ayacucho. The volume contains a large amount of citation from original documents, and is carefully written. Although it presents no great amount of new material it does furnish new details that will be welcome to the student.

Dr. Nicolás García Samudio, formerly consul general for Colombia, in New York, brought out in 1925 through the Imprenta Nacional at Bogotá, three essays under the title *Capítulos de Historia Diplomática*. The essays are: "John Quincy Adams and the Independence of the Hispanic American Nations"; "The Mission of Manuel Torres to Washington, and the South American Origins of the Monroe Doctrine"; and "Santander and the United States". The volume was awarded the prize in the contest held by the government of Colombia for the purpose of selecting the Colombian delegate to the Third Scientific Pan American Congress held at Lima, December 20, 1924 to January 6, 1925. There are excellent portraits of John Quincy Adams, Clay, and various South Americans. In addition to the essays above mentioned, there are seventeen documents relative to the mission of Manuel Torres to Washington and the recognition of the Hispanic American nations by the United States.

Dr. Juan B. Terán, rector of the National University of Tucumán, of Argentina, published in May, 1927, a volume entitled *El Nacimiento de la América Española* (Tucumán). In his introduction, the author discusses the sources for American history, the royal cédulas, the law in Spain and in America, private papers, the chronicles, and historical truth. His twelve chapters deal with Italy and Spain in the discovery, the transformation of the conquistador, woman and the family, the conquistador and the Indians, rebellion and discord, religion and the spiritual government, economic matters, the difference of reality and law, spectacles, the American city, the anti-conquistador (Las Cases). Notes are appended to each chapter. The book is worth study.

The *Report of the High Commission for the Year 1926 presented to his Excellency the President of the Republic of Nicaragua and to the Honorable Secretary of State of the United States of America* has recently come off the press in Managua. "The High Commission was established in conformity with Article Seven of the Financial

Plan of 1917 and its organization was confirmed by the same article of the Financial Plan of 1920''. During the year there were two resignations, namely, those of Adan Cardenas and his successor, Rafael Cabrera, the latter being succeeded by Fernando Guzman. Matters discussed in the report are: the political situation; the economic situation; exportation and importation; government finances; service of the guaranteed customs bonds and their market; and the external debt. The pamphlet has twenty-two statistical tables which illustrate the text of the report. Roscoe R. Hill and J. W. Jenks are the members of the Commission in behalf of the United States.

From the Imprenta Nacional of Panamá comes (1927) a volume of 746 pages under the title *Memoria que presenta el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores a la Asamblea Nacional Legislativa en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1926*. This is excellent for reference.

Vicente Rossi, in his *Cosas de Negro* (Rio de la Plata, 1926), gives much interesting information about the negro of the La Plata region. The volume deals with the history of the negro in America (especially in South America), his folklore, his dances (especially the tango), and makes various rectifications (so called by the author) to generally accepted beliefs. One of the latter is that the invaders from Europe were not pure whites but really a mixed white and black, or mulattoes. The book is interesting from more than one point of view. It can be procured from the Imprenta Argentina, Calle Dean Funes, No. 152, Córdoba, Argentina.

The *Mensaje del Excmo. Señor Presidente de la Nación Marcelo T. de Alvear al inaugurar el Período ordinario de Sesiones del H. Congreso nacional, 1927*, recently appeared from the Talleres Gráficos del Ministerio de Agricultura de la Nación of Buenos Aires. This document (153 pages) discusses various important matters.

La Prensa, of New York, the only daily newspaper printed in Spanish in the United States, was in 1913 a four-page weekly paper. During the war it was bought by its present owner and publisher, José Camprubí, to assist Spaniards and Hispanic Americans who had been imprisoned because they had not obtained proper classification cards, and to promote the Unión Benéfica Española. On June 4, 1918, the paper became a daily, but its new owner gave it little attention for some months. Then deciding that there should be a proper

organization in order that the paper might serve the Spanish-speaking population in the United States, a cable service was established and a regular staff developed. It is now read in many parts of the United States and in all parts of Hispanic America. The daily edition now numbers from 19,500 to 21,000. Its owner in a recent communication wrote:

We are particularly anxious to have the boys and girls in the American schools read *La Prensa*, written entirely by Hispanic people from different nations, because by so doing, they will grow up with a clearer understanding of the point of view of the Hispanic nations, and the causes of misunderstanding and friction between these nations and the United States, and there will be available abundant material of the very highest type to carry on negotiations in such a way that misunderstanding may disappear entirely.

It is stated that the paper prints more cable news from the Hispanic American countries than any other daily newspaper in the United States.

The Secretaría de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo, of Mexico, through its Departamento de Petroleo, has issued (1927) from the Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, a pamphlet entitled *La Industria del Petroleo en México*. This consists of two parts: the first, "Su Aspecto legal y su Reglamentación", by José Colomo; and the second, "El Estado actual de esa Industria", by Gustavo Ortega. It is illustrated with forty plates.

The Pan American Union has published a monograph of 34 pages (Washington, 1927) under the title *Report on the Activities of the Pan American Union, 1923-1927*. This is the report of the director general, Dr. L. S. Rowe, submitted in accordance with the provision of Article I, section 5, of the Resolution of the Fifth International Conference of American States, adopted at Santiago, at the session of May 1, 1923. The various activities are enumerated under sixteen heads, as follows: Introduction; Coöperation with other agencies; Publication activities; Development of closer intellectual and cultural ties; Educational activities; Commercial and industrial information; Financial information; Statistical information; Pan American Library; Pan American Sanitary Bureau; Section of municipal affairs; American archæology; Labor information; Activities in giving effect to the recommendations of the Fifth International Conference of American States; Pan American conferences and congresses; Recommendations

of the director general. The pamphlet closes with an appendix in which a brief history of the Pan American Union is given. At the time the report was made, the library of the Union possessed over 60,000 volumes and pamphlets, over 1,700 maps and 132 atlases, and was receiving over 1,000 periodicals. "On request bibliographies are compiled on special subjects and searches made through other libraries for individual books desired for some particular purpose or by some student or writer who is unable to make such a search independently" (p. 17). A report of this nature on the Union has been needed.

Another number of the *James Sprunt Historical Studies* (No. 2 of Vol. XIX), published from time to time at the University of North Carolina, has appeared, under the editorship of Dr. William Whatley Pierson, Jr. It contains four articles, namely, "Some Notes on the Transfer by Spain of Plants and Animals to its Colonies Overseas", by James Alexander Robertson; "The European Powers and the Spanish-American War", by J. Fred Rippey; "The Monroe Doctrine and the Panamá Congress", by Mrs. Guion Griffin Johnson; and "The Establishment and early Functioning of the Intendencia of Cuba", by William Whatley Pierson, Jr. This last especially is a contribution of importance.

Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, of the University of South Carolina, has compiled a syllabus of Hispanic American history, under the title of *An Outline of Hispanic American History*. This syllabus, which appeared first in the *Historical Outlook*, has been issued as a reprint by the McKinley Publishing Co. In his short preface, the compiler says in part:

The divisions of the subject-matter have been chosen purposely. The first two chapters are introductory in nature. Chapters III to X have been so arranged as to give in cross-sections a history of the colonial period in chronological order: the years to 1519 mark the Spanish occupation of the West Indies; from 1519 to 1535, conquest and settlement extended from the Caribbean Islands to the mainland, and footholds were obtained in Mexico, Panama, Peru, La Plata, and Brazil; from 1535 to 1600, consolidation and organization of the colonial government was in a measure completed, so that from 1600 to 1800 the colonial system was to be seen in full working order. In Chapter IX, the date 1750 is approximate, for it is difficult to assign a definite beginning to the manifestations of unrest. The dates 1808 to 1824 in Chapter X are those usually given to the periods of the revolutions. Chapters XI to XIV cover the modern development of the Hispanic-

American nations, each of which has been treated separately and in a rather uniform fashion. Chapter XV to XVII treat collectively of the foreign relations of the states, hence this topic has been scarcely touched upon in the individual outline of each state in the previous chapters.

There are useful bibliographical lists for each chapter and throughout the compiler has shown a good sense of classification. The pamphlet is of handy size and can be carried in the pocket.

Dr. James B. Childs, chief of the Documents Division of the Library of Congress, has compiled a 39-page pamphlet entitled *An Account of Government Document Bibliography in the United States and Elsewhere*, which has been issued by the library. Following a valuable introduction, the compiler lists the bibliographies of various countries. In Hispanic America, bibliographies are listed for Brazil (p. 24), Chile, Corrientes, and Cuba (p. 26); Mexico (p. 33); Uruguay (p. 38).

Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., presented as his dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Catholic University of America in June 1927, a study entitled *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*. The purpose of the study, he explains in his preface, "is to present the . . . expedition of 1673 in its proper historical setting". The dissertation, which presents views quite at variance with those hitherto held regarding the expedition and the Marquette journal, has an extensive introduction relative to early Spanish exploration in territory now a part of the United States. The book is well written and merits careful reading. If furnished with maps, and published in a new edition, this study should be given a wider circulation than it will have under its present form as a dissertation.

The *Boletín de la Unión Panamericana* for June, 1927, reprints an article by John W. White, from the *American Weekly* of Buenos Aires, of January 1, 1927, under the title, "La gran Inmigración de los Mennonitas al Paraguay". Mr. White is editor in chief of the periodical mentioned and its publisher. The same number of the *Bulletin* has an informing article on the "International Ibero-American Exposition" to be held in Seville, October 12, 1928, to June 30, 1929. The number for July has an excellent article on "New Light on Ancient American Calendars", this being a summary of a paper entitled "Fresh Light on Ancient American Civilizations and Cal-

endars", read by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Oxford, on August 11, 1926, at the meeting of the XXII. International Congress of Americanists held at Rome, September-October, 1926, and at the special meeting of the Anthropological Society of Washington, February 3, 1927. This is preceded by an article entitled "The Importance of Calendar Reform to the Business World", by George Eastman.

Among recent historical works of Hispanic America are: *A History of Cuba*, by Charles E. Chapman; *Antonio de Mendoza, first Viceroy of New Spain*, by Arthur Scott Aiton; *Francisco de Ibarra—Conquistador*, by J. Lloyd Mecham; *Chile and the United States*, by Henry Clay Evans, Jr.; *José de Escandón and the Founding of Nuevo Santander*, by Lawrence Francis Hill; and *Roosevelt and the Caribbean*, by Howard C. Hill. Louis Martin Sears is the author of *History of American Foreign Relations*, which deals in part with Hispanic America. All these books will be discussed in later issues of this REVIEW.

In publishing the *George Ticknor Letters to Pascual de Gayangos, from Originals in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, edited by Clara Louisa Penney (New York, 1927; pp. xliv, 578), the Hispanic Society has performed a graceful act to the memory of both Ticknor and Gayangos. These materials are a contribution to American letters. There are several appendices: 1. A list of books sent by Ticknor to Gayangos; 2. List of books lent by Gayangos to Ticknor; 3. List of modern books for a public library; 4. List of books purchased by Ticknor, 1845-1846; Notes for the Spanish translation of Ticknor's book. These are followed by various notes. The letters reveal the alert, sympathetic nature of Ticknor, and the assiduity with which he strove continually to improve his work.

The Hispanic Society has issued among its series of "Hispanic Notes and Monographs", many of which have been noted in former issues of this REVIEW, the following: In 1926—*Ribera in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (pp. v, 19); *Góngora in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America* (pp. vii, 14); *Cancionero de Baena reproduced in facsimile from the unique Manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale*, foreword by Henry R. Lang (pp. vii, 33);

Panels from the Tomb of Don García Osorio in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America (pp. v, 28); *Fourteen Spanish Manuscript Documents in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (pp. vii, 9); *Ten Panels probably executed by the Indians of New Mexico in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (pp. v, 25). In 1927—*Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America: Juan Perez of Villalvin and his Wife Sol Fernandez, Sevilla, 9 January, 1326.* Manuscript B12, edited by A. D. Savage (pp. 13); *The Tombs of Don Gutierre de la Cueva and Doña Mencía Enriquez de Toledo in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (pp. v, 41); *Portrait Medallions in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America: Charles the Fifth, Isabel of Portugal, and Philip the Second* (pp. v, 11); and *Audubon Park: the History of the Site of the Hispanic Society of America and neighbouring Institutions*, by George Bird Grinnell (pp. v, 25); *Gongora in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America; El Polifemo* (pp. v, 5); *Sancho Coello in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (pp. v, 10); *Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America: Alfonso Gomez, Cordoba, 29 September, 1482*, edited by A. D. Savage (pp. 11); *A Boxwood Triptych in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (pp. v, 11); *Pantoga de la Cruz in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America: Portrait of a Spanish Lady* (pp. v, 10); *Gongora in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America: Editions of Todas las Obras* (pp. v, 42); *Quatro Comedias* (pp. v, 5); and *Effigies of a Knight of Santiago and his Lady* (pp. v, 9). The Society has also published three more ambitious books, namely: *El Greco*, by Elizabeth Du Gue Trapier (1925; pp. xii, 186); *Gregorio Fernandez*, by Beatrice L. Gilman (1926; pp. xiv, 179); and *El Ingrato Agradecido*, by Juan de Matos Fragoso, printed from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional by Harry Clifton Heaton (1926; pp. lxiii, 180).

Catalogue, No. 515, issued by Martinus Nijhoff recently is of books, periodicals, and maps relating to Central- and South-America. A note explains that this catalogue "does not contain any books, etc., relating to Dutch colonization in South America", but that a special catalogue will be sent on application. Catalogue 512 relates to South American law and legislation.

Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven's *Readings in Hispanic American History*, published by Ginn & Co., has just appeared from the press as the manuscript of this issue of the REVIEW goes to the printer. It is a stout volume of well-nigh 800 pages, and is composed of readings on a great many topics. The "Readings" are classified under four main heads, as follows: The establishment of the Spanish and Portuguese in the new world; Hispanic American wars of emancipation; The development of nation states in Hispanic America; and International American relations. This book will be discussed in a later issue of this REVIEW.

The American Antiquarian Society, which was established in 1812, numbers in its library some 11,000 pieces of Spanish Americana and the West Indies. The report of the Council of the Society for 1919 notes that the Society "has a collection on Latin America which ranks well with those in other important libraries." It comprises about 700 books between 1555 and 1800, printed principally in Mexico and Puebla, although many come from Guatemala and a few from other South American towns. The report further states:

The foundation of the fund for Hispanic Americana was laid by Isaac Davis, who in 1868 gave to the Society \$500, the income of which was "to be applied to the purchase of books, maps, charts, and works of art, relating to that portion of North America lying south of the United States." With a subsequent gift of \$1,000 from Isaac Davis, and gifts of \$5,000 in 1891, and \$5,000 in 1910 from Edward L. Davis, together with accrued income, the fund now [1919] amounts to \$23,000. The scope of the fund was later enlarged to admit of the purchases of works relating to South America, and, in 1910, at the suggestion of Edward L. Davis, the Society was allowed to spend the income for general purposes of the Society, if any part of it was not required for the original object of the fund.

Another source of additions to the collection of Hispanic Americana were the frequent gifts of books from Stephen Salisbury, Jr. From the days of his college friendship for David Casarès, of Merida, Yucatan, Mr. Salisbury always evinced a decided interest in the archaeology and history of Central America and some of the rarest of our early works on this subject were presented by him.

Today [1919] the Hispanic American collection numbers over 4500 books and pamphlets, mostly of the early period. There has been little attempt to secure the material of the last fifty years except as it may throw light upon the older literature.

Of the bibliographical works the Society has a large collection including nearly all of the valuable monographs compiled by J. T. Medina of Santiago de Chile, and the bibliographies of Viñaza, Montt, Trelles, Leclerc, Leon, Beristain, Garraux, Andrade, Icazbalceta, and other workers in this field.

The narratives of the early voyages, travellers and commentators are well represented, including original editions of Acosta, Benzoni, Las Casas, Dampier, Drake, Hakluyt, Herrera, Laet, Linschoten, Martyr, Oviedo, and La Vega. In consideration of the greatly increased values of most of these edition, it is fortunate that they were obtained for the Library a number of years ago.

The source-books for the study of linguistics have been almost all obtained in the last ten years, chiefly through the aid of Miss Alice W. Kurtz, who has travelled throughout Mexico and Guatemala acquiring these rare volumes from monastic and private libraries. The *artes*, *confesionarios*, and *vocabularios* published from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries include:

Molina Vocabulario en la Lengua Castellana y Mexicana, Mexico, 1555.

Molina, Confessionario Mayor, Mexico, 1565.

Molina, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana y Castellana, Mexico, 1571.

Lorra Baquio, Manual Mexicano, Mexico, 1634.

Carochi, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, Mexico, 1645.

Marban, Arte de la Lengua Moxa, Lima, 1702.

Perez, Farol Indiano, Mexico, 1713.

Avila, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, 1717.

Perez, Catecismo Romano, Mexico, 1723.

Gastelu, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, Puebla, 1726.

Serra, Manual de administrar los Sacramentos, Mexico, 1731.

Quintana, Confessionario en Léngua Mixe, Puebla, 1733.

Rinaldini, Arte de la Lengua Tepeguana, Mexico, 1743.

Flores, Arte de la Lengua Metropolitana, Guatemala, 1753.

Torres, Arte de la Lengua Quichua, Lima, 1754.

Ripalda, Catecismo Mexicano, Mexico, 1758.

Paredes, Promptuario manual Mexicano, Mexico, 1759.

Aguirre, Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Opata, Mexico, 1765.

Febres, Arte de la Lengua Chileno, Lima, 1765.

Moreno, Vida del Vasco de Quiroga, Mexico, 1766.

Tapia Zenteno, Noticia de la Lengua Huasteca, Mexico, 1767.

Arenas, Vocabulario Manual de las Lenguas Castellana y Mexicana, Puebla, 1793.

The collection of Mexican, South American and West Indian newspapers has been given especial attention. . . . This has been chiefly strengthened by the purchase of a large number of South American newspapers in 1915, of numerous Mexican and Guatemalan files from Miss Kurtz, and by the acquisitions made by the President of the Society on a trip to the West Indies in 1913.

The value of this collection has inspired several gifts of importance. During the past winter Mrs. F. Spencer Wigley of St. Christopher visited the Library and as a result presented us with the rare "Laws of the Island of St. Christopher" printed in the Island in 1791, a valuable example of West Indian printing. Also within the past month the Society has purchased the London 1739 edition of the Acts of the Island of St. Christopher, and the 1740 edition of the Acts of the Charibbee Leeward Islands.

The American Geographical Society, whose headquarters are at Broadway at 156th St., New York City, has issued a number of interesting books and maps dealing with Hispanic America. A recent circular notes the following: in the "Research Series":

- No. 5—*The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia*. By George M. McBride. 27 pp.; 5 maps and photographs. An intensive study of one of the most interesting of the land systems in a typical Andean country.
- No. 6—*Recent Colonization in Chile*. By Mark Jefferson. 52 pp., 15 maps and photographs. Describes the forested country of southern Chile, summing up conditions favorable and otherwise.
- No. 7—*The Rainfall of Chile*. By Mark Jefferson. A companion work to No. 6. 32 pp.; 10 maps and diagrams. Shows the marked contrasts in various regions of Chile and gives tables of precipitation and data for new rainfall maps.
- No. 9—*A Catalogue of Geological Maps of South America*. By H. B. Sullivan. 190 pp.; 1 map. Titles of over 200 maps showing areal geology, with alternate blank pages for additions by the user.
- No. 12—*The Land Systems of Mexico*. By G. M. McBride. 204 pp.; 33 maps and photographs. A scientific treatment of important forms of land tenure, with a summary of present conditions in Mexico.
- No. 14—*The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus: A Critical Consideration of Four Problems*. By George E. Nunn. 148 pp.; 16 maps and 2 insert plates. A new and original statement of problems to be solved and established, conclusions to be reconsidered and possibly modified.

Among "Special Publications" are the following:

- [No. 2]—*The Andes of Southern Peru: Geographical Reconnaissance Along the Seventy-Third Meridian*. By Isaiah Bowman. 204 maps, diagrams, and photographs. An interpretation of human life and work in one of the famous and potentially important regions of South America.
- No. 5—*Desert Trails of Atacama*. By Isaiah Bowman. 360 pp.; 119 maps and photographs. A study of desert and high mountain and plateau settlements in the Atacama region of northern Chile and northwestern Argentina.

Among the "Hispanic America Publications" (including maps) are listed the following:

- No. 1—*Geography of Central Andes: A Handbook to Accompany the La Paz Sheet of the Map of Hispanic America on the Millionth Scale*. By A. G. Ogilvie. 240 pp.; 43 maps, diagrams, and photographs. An illustrated descriptive work dealing with one of the loftiest and most interesting parts of the Andes.
- Map of Hispanic American Publication No. 2—*The Lesser Antilles*. By W. M. Davis. 16 full-page photographs, 21 line cuts of hydrographic and admiralty charts, and 45 pen sketches chiefly of coastal features. A technical physiographic description of the islands forming the chain of the Lesser Antilles.

Map of Hispanic America, 1:1,000,000. These are now available: Sheet South E-19, La Paz; Sheet South C-19, Acre; Sheet North 9-12, Baja California-Sur. Each sheet \$2.00. These maps are in colore and measure roughly 26 by 30 inches. They are parts of a great series in preparation by the Society and based almost wholly upon original surveys.

Map of Hispanic America, 1:6,000,000. Compiled from about 250 sources. Shows drainage, international and provincial boundaries, railroads, and population centers. It is in three sheets for filing or may be mounted and used as a wall map. It is now the best base map of Hispanic-America available. \$5.00.

Maps in sheets originally published in the *Geographical Review*, and in colors unless otherwise stated (sold for twenty-five cents each) are as follows:

Map of the Frontier Region of Northern Mexico. 1:4,300,000. 1917. Shows relief, temperature, rainfall, drainage, roads, and towns.

Map of the Density of Rural Population in Mexico. By Sumner W. Cushing. 1:10,500,000. 1921.

Map of City Groups in Mexico. By Sumner W. Cushing. 1:10,500,000. 1921. [Blak-and-white map.]

Map of the Sierra de Perijá and the Western Maracaibo Lowland, Venezuela-Colombia. Based on available material, with additions by Theodoor de Booy. 1:600,000. 1918.

Map of the Cerro Bobali and the Rio de Oro, Colombia-Venezuela. By H. Case Willcox. Route surveys made in 1920. 1:325,000. 1921. [Black-and-white map.]

Carnegie Institution of Washington has recently published as its publication No. 330 the second volume of *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773*, collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier, edited with introduction and annotations by Professor Hackett of Texas University. A review of this volume, which has been awaited eagerly, and which measures up to the preceding volume, will appear in a forthcoming number of the REVIEW. As in the preceding volume both the original Spanish and its English translation are presented.

In the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, for April, 1926, appeared an article by Waldo Lincoln, entitled "List of Newspapers of the West Indies and Bermuda in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society". This has also been issued as a reprint. From it, we learn that most of the newspapers listed have been acquired during the last decade and a half. "The collection is

especially strong in the newspapers of Antigua, Barbados, Bermuda, Grenada, Saint Christopher, Saint Lucia, and Trinidad. . . . The newspapers of Cuba and Porto Rico are the result of an attempt to obtain a sample of every newspaper published at the time of a visit to those islands in 1913 and 1914 respectively". The Cuba checklist, however, shows papers as early as 1810 (see pp. 12-15). Papers for Haiti and Santo Domingo are also listed (pp. 18-19). Porto Rican papers reach back as far as 1843.

The Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Públicas of Buenos Aires has issued (October, 1926) the first number of its *Libros y Bibliotecas*, as a book of 260 pages. It is understood that this is intended to be a monthly review and its circulation among libraries both inside and outside Argentina and among individuals, will be about 3,000. The periodical is issued at Calle Córdoba, No. 931, Buenos Aires. The first instalment shows that the number of public libraries in Argentina has increased from 191 in 1910 to 1102 in 1925. The volume contains also interesting information relative to the Comisión and its work; various addresses; laws relative to the Comisión; and lists of the public libraries in Argentina. This is a useful volume and it is hoped that its publication will continue.

The catalogues issued by Maggs Brothers of London under the title of *Bibliotheca Americana* are most useful to the worker in Hispanic American History. Especial reference is made to Catalogues, Nos. 429, 432, 442, 465, and 479, issued respectively in 1922, 1923, 1925, and 1926. They are called respectively Nos. I, II, III, IV, and V. The first describes 1686 items (including books, manuscripts, maps, autographs, etc.) and has 60 plates. The second describes a series of autograph letters (1680-1687) showing Kino's discoveries and explorations in California—all of which are now in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, of San Marino, California. Part III. lists 855 items and includes 37 plates; part IV., 1287 items and 57 plates; and part V., 1031 items and many plates. The library above mentioned has also purchased many of the books listed.

Raimundo Rivas, Colombian scholar and statesman, published through the Caracas press, "Typografía America" in 1925, a book of

essays entitled *Lecturas Históricas*. This publication contains the following: "Homenaje a Venezuela", an address given in the name of the government of Colombia at the consecration of the Quinta de Bolívar de Bogotá as a national monument, on August 7, 1919, the centenary of the battle of Boyacá (pp. 5-12); "Amores de Solis", an address given by the president of the Academy of History of Colombia at its session of October 112, 1919 (pp. 13-51); "Saludo a España" address given in the names of the Hispanic American republics at the inaugural session of the second Congress of History and Geography at Seville, May 2, 1921 (pp. 53-57); "La Encomendera de Bogotá", address delivered in the Academy of History of Colombia, March 15, 1923 (pp. 58-89); "La Estatua del Fundador", a paper written on the occasion of the erection of the Statue of Adelantado Jiménez de Quesada (this being the work of the Spanish sculptor Antonio Rodríguez del Villar) on October 12, 1924 (pp. 91-96); "Nariño", address delivered on the centenary of the death of the forerunner of independence, December 13, 1923, on the occasion of the hanging of his picture (the work of the artist C. Lerido and the donation of the alcalde mayor, Ernest Sanz de Santa María) in the alcaldía of Bogotá (pp. 97-101); "Una Mansión Histórica", September 29, 1923 (pp. 103-113); "Consideraciones sobre la Historia Nacional" a reply to the reception address of José María Restrepo Sáenz in the Academy of History of Colombia, March 25, 1915 (pp. 115-125); "El primer Congreso Americano de Lima", June, 1914 (pp. 127-154); "La Familia de Zea", address delivered in the Academy of History of Colombia, October, 1915 (pp. 155-166); "Ricaurte y sus Impugnadores ante la Crítica", report to the above mentioned academy, September 15, 1919 (pp. 185-206); "El Mensajero de la Victoria", study first published in the *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia de Venezuela*, December, 1924 (pp. 207-235); "Don Pedro Ponce de León, Gobernador de Venezuela" (pp. 237-269); "La Guía de Fernando VII", an article first published in *El Nuevo Tiempo de Bogotá*, September 11, 1908 (pp. 271-285); and the literary studies—"Don Santiago Pérez, Dramaturgo", a study read before the Society of Authors of Colombia, June 19, 1920 (pp. 289-303); "Influencias literarias en José A. Silva", an address delivered before the Sociedad Arboleda, July 28, 1919 (pp. 305-316). There is also an index.

Volume XI., No. 2 (1926) of "Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, consists of *Official Reports of the Towns of Tequizistlan, Tepechpan, Acolman, and San Juan Teotihuacan sent by Francisco de Castañeda to his Majesty, Philip II, and the Council of the Indies in 1580.* These reports were translated and edited by that veteran worker in American archeology, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, to whom many scholars have been indebted for aid. The documents are most interesting and valuable, and are well annotated.

Miss Irene A. Wright, in *Spanish Narratives of the English Attack on Santo Domingo, 1655*, reprinted from the *Camden Miscellany* XIV. (1926), pp. i-xiii, 1-80, presents in English translation with copious annotations some very interesting documents. There is also a plan of the city and fortifications of Santo Domingo, of 1656. Following Miss Wright's introduction are given the "Relation of Captain Pallano" (pp. 1-40); letter from Count de Peñalva to Gregorio de Leguia, Santo Domingo, May 24, 1655 (pp. 47-50); "The Notarial Account" (pp. 51-62); and the "Treasurer's Report" (pp. 63-67); and several appendices, namely, "Memorandum of the Awards which his Majesty deigned to bestow upon Persons who engaged in the Defense of Santo Domingo" (pp. 68-70); "Memorial of the Island of Santo Domingo to the King of Spain" (pp. 70-72); and "Key to Contemporary Plans of the City of Santo Domingo" (pp. 76).

Professor Leland Hamilton Jenks of Rollins College is preparing a manuscript upon "American Enterprise and Policy" in Cuba. The work is one of a series of studies sponsored by the Committee for the Investigation of American Foreign Investments, 2 West Thirtieth Street, New York City. Professor Melvin M. Knight has been at work upon San Domingo; Mrs. Margaret Alexander Marsh spent last summer in Bolivia gathering material for a similar study. The object of all of these studies is to examine the activity of American capital an enterprise in particular Latin American countries, with a view to ascertaining what effect, if any, they have had upon the relations of the United States with them.

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